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ABSTRACT

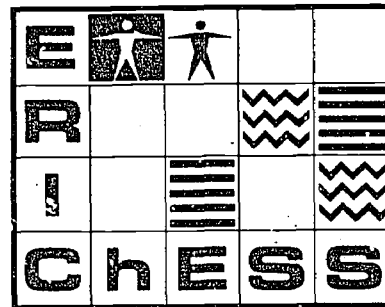
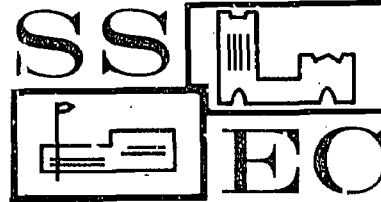
An overview of the development of research in social studies education, representing investigations made during this century up to 1970, is presented in this reference handbook. The guide, designed to aid researchers in the field, is arranged in three main sections. In the first section, Research in Social Studies and Social Science Education, available resources are introduced, including procedures for obtaining facsimile documents from major repositories. Secondly, an analysis of the field of social studies research is provided. The major portion, section three, is devoted to a series of twelve articles appearing between 1941 and 1970 in publications of the American Educational Research Association and of the National Council for the Social Studies. Each of the articles, written by an authority in the field of social studies/social science education, is reprinted in its original form, including a bibliography. Two appendices are presented on The Social Studies Educator and on Experimental Classroom Studies of Teacher Training, Teaching Behavior, and Student Achievement. Subject and author indices conclude the reference work. (Author/SJM)

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RESEARCH IN SOCIAL STUDIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION, ANALYSES, AND REVIEWS OF RESEARCH

compiled by

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1972

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INTRODUCTION

In the first six decades of this century, no fewer than 1200 investigations have been made in the field of social studies education. Most of these studies are reviewed in the following chapters. They overview the development of social studies research up to 1970.

It seems appropriate to pull together, into this one reference, 12 reviews of research which have appeared through the years in publications of the American Educational Research Association and of the National Council for the Social Studies. These organizations have graciously permitted the reprinting of original articles as they originally appeared. Thereby, they have continued their longstanding encouragement of social studies researchers.

There are five sections in this book. The first section is an introduction to resources available to social studies researchers. Secondly, an analysis of the field of social studies research is provided. This is followed by the largest section, a series of 12 review articles which have appeared between 1941 and 1970. The fourth section is a composite bibliography. In most cases, the original source of the original research report is cited so that contemporary researchers can obtain facsimile copies. The first section, "Research in Social Studies and Social Science Education," describes procedures for obtaining facsimile documents from major repositories. The fifth and final section provides a subject and author index.

Major credit must be given to the original reviewers whose articles have been reprinted. Appreciation is expressed to each of them: Murra, Wesley and Zink (1941); Carr, Wesley and Murra (1950); Gross and Badger (1960); Metcalf (1963); Harrison and Solomon (1964, 1965); Girault and Cox (1966); Cox, Johnson and Payette (1967, 1968); Johnson, Payette and Cox (1969); Sundeen and Skretting (1969); and Payette, Cox and Johnson (1970).

Without the assistance of Philip Devaux, Kyung Soo Cha, and Phyliss Miller, the production of this reference would not have been possible. They have been invaluable and selfless.

This is a handbook. Hopefully, it will be a useful guide, not read from cover to cover, but used as a general introduction and set of reference materials. It will have served an important purpose if readers who would not otherwise undertake research projects are motivated to design studies and adopt the mode of the systematic inquirer. It will be of value if it lightens the workload of any researcher, especially the young researchers in social studies education. Perhaps they can stand with at least one foot out of the swamp on islands built by social studies researchers in the past.

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I RESEARCH IN SOCIAL STUDIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

James M. Oswald

If anything can be agreed upon by those who have inquired in the field of social studies and social science education, it's surely that there has been a lengthy debate over what is appropriately social studies and what relationships the social sciences have to this field. Rather than add another debatable definition of the social studies, this paper will focus on resources which those interested in research in social studies and social science education may find useful. For convenience, the term "social studies" will be used throughout.

Models and Theories

Though the stereotypical social studies curriculum model is a list of topics, considerable theoretical work has been done in the field. As Metcalf (1963) pointed out, a legacy is provided by the reflective thinking model developed by Dewey (1910, 1933); Griffin (1942); Bayles (1950, 1956); and Hullfish and Smith (1961). It is appropriate also to add Metcalf (1948) and Hunt and Metcalf (1956, 1968); Oliver (1956); and Oliver and Shaver (1962). There have been and will be other contributors to the methodological theory of reflective thinking as nucleus of the social studies.

Inasmuch as logic, reason, and conceptual analysis can be subsumed by the reflective thinking model, it seems to be a leading position in the field. It subsumes the previously cited work in addition to that of Bruner (1956); Taba (1960); Price et al. (1963); and Price, Hickman and Smith (1965).

There is another legacy, the eclectic model of the social studies. It lacks the refinement of the reflective thinking model, but is probably more popular among social studies educators. Evidence of this model's acceptance is the wide array of topics and themes reported in the reviews of social studies research. The range, just among dissertations, is from "Teaching Time and Place Relationships in Elementary School History" to "The Effect of the Economic Education of Teachers on the Number of Economic Concepts Reported Taught" to "A Study of Bias in the Treatment of Nullification and Secession in the Secondary School History Textbooks of the United States." Eclecticism is a mainstream in the social studies.

A third model seems appropriate for attention by social studies researchers. It is environmentalistic and has an eloquent expression in the work of Krech (1969). As a descriptive label, Krech has selected "Psychoneurobiochemeduction" for this investigation of physical environmental effects upon behavior. In contrast to reflective thinking, this model is non-verbal. It is based on the evidence that brain size is a function of environmental enrichment. Other researchers have also focused on environmental effects. For example, Hess and Torney (1967); Hess and Baer (1968); and Patrick (1967) have investigated socialization and have reported that non-school environments seem to be more powerful than in-school environments in affecting political behavior. Further research is needed to determine effects of social studies environments upon students. Krech has provided a research based theory of considerable interest and of possible relevance to social studies.

Theories of learning are central to any educational-instructional field. There is no totally acceptable single theory at present. The more refined theories are described by Hilgard (1964) and Hilgard and Bower (1966). In the several editions of *Theories of Learning*, different theories have received attention. Some have been dropped, others have been added. Therefore, the researcher seeking an appropriate theory of learning may find it useful to review several editions of this reference. Similar in intent, but more consistent in presenting the parallel elements in different theories, is *Theories of Motivation* by Madsen (n.d.).

Numerous theories and models are available for the social studies researcher, but relatively few studies are done at the theoretical level. Of these, the reflective thinking model seems to have received the most consistent attention from social studies theoreticians. Provincial and eclectic research themes, however, have been more common in the field.

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Methodologies

As with theories, no methodologies are exclusively the domain of social studies. Some major methodological references are cited, however, for they can be invaluable to the social studies researcher.

Kaplan (1964), *The Conduct of Inquiry*, provides a detailed overview of inquiring processes through sections dealing with methodology, concepts, laws, experiments, measurements, statistics, models, theories, explanation, and values.

Gage (1963), *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, provides a chapter on "Paradigms for Research on Teaching." This reference also provides "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching" by Campbell and Stanley (1963). This chapter has also been reprinted as a book under the same title. "Rating Methods in Research on Teaching" by Remmers (1963), "Testing Cognitive Ability and Achievement" by Bloom (1963), and "Measuring Non-Cognitive Variables in Research on Teaching" by Stern (1963) are also useful. "Research on Teaching the Social Studies" by Metcalf (1963) originally appeared in the *Handbook* and is reprinted in section three of this reference.

Unobtrusive Measures, Non-reactive Research in the Social Sciences by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest (1966), provides measures which do not require the controlled situations of experimental designs. To exemplify the differences of these two methodologies, an analogy seems appropriate. In an experimental design, publication x (stimulus), could be introduced to the students. Tests (observations) could determine some effects of the stimulus both on groups exposed to publication x and upon others who were not exposed to the stimulus. More elaborate designs of this sort are provided by Campbell and Stanley (1963). In a non-reactive study also using publication x, school storerooms might be observed to determine whether the item is in circulation or shelved. Or individual copies of publication x might be checked to determine if they are wearing out through use. Both reactive and non-reactive research can appropriately be used in the social studies.

The American Educational Research Association (AERA) published the *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. In addition, they have published an edition of the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* at ten year intervals since 1940. And though the "social studies" articles from each of four *Encyclopedia* editions are reprinted in this reference, each edition contains many other articles of methodological importance and of use to the researcher. AERA publications are invaluable in the area of research methodology. Unfortunately, they are too numerous to list here. A bibliography of these publications can be obtained through the AERA office.

Human Behavior, An Inventory of Scientific Findings, by Berelson and Steiner (1964), is a single volume presentation of hundreds of studies of human behavior. Used as a handbook, it provides a variety of methodological approaches to behavior research. Projects and their findings are reported for the categories of: methods of inquiry, behavioral development, perceiving, learning and thinking, motivation, family, small groups, organizations, institutions, social stratification, ethnic relations, mass communication, opinions, attitudes, beliefs, society, and culture.

Simulation and Society by Raser (1969) is an introduction to scientific gaming. It refers to the major references in the simulation field, traces its background, and elaborates on uses of simulation in research and with teaching. Simulation is a methodology which social studies researchers may increasingly find useful.

Future studies methodologies deserve the consideration of social studies researchers. The futurist field is growing and offers an extensive literature and a variety of methodologies that have been described by Sandow (1970) in "The Pedagogical Structure of Methods for Thinking About the Future." He provides introductions to the following methodologies: Delphi, future histories, scenarios, value shift assessment, future history analysis and review, cross impact matrix, and cross purpose matrix. Research in social studies education has been "past" oriented. Treating the future as an eventual "past" shows promise as an inquiry strategy.

Also at the "cutting edge" of contemporary research are the computer based methodologies. Though they have been little used in the social studies, acquaintance with them seems important for they often offer economies in cost and time compared to traditional methods. One K-12 social studies curriculum that is computer-supported is Project PLAN, a methodology in itself, which provides individualization.

Of the traditional methods, historiography is well known and has been popular among social studies researchers. Bloch (1953, 1964), *The Historian's Craft*, and Gottschalk (1950), *Understanding History. A Primer of Historical Method*, provide basic introductions to historiographic techniques for ascertaining knowledge. And each social science also has a methodological literature containing presentations such as *The Tools of Social Science* by Madge (1953) and *Handbook of Political Science Methods* by Garson (1971).

It is apparent that there is a body of literature dealing with research methodologies and it follows that a variety of methodologies are available for use in social studies research.

Previous Research

Dissertations:

An extensive literature has been developed specifically by researchers who have found social studies a useful medium in which to test their hypothesis. A major portion of this work is in the form of research reports completed as requirements for doctoral degrees. These doctoral dissertations are systematically catalogued in *Dissertation Abstracts*, new volumes of which are published annually. The terse abstracts in these volumes can be traced to their original source, invariably a university library. Or, as is usually more convenient, facsimile copies of dissertations can be obtained through University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

McPhie (1964) prepared *Dissertations in Social Studies Education: A Comprehensive Guide*. It provides brief abstracts of 566 studies, an author index, and a subject index. McPhie brought together the social studies dissertations cited in *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities* (1933-1955), *Microfilm Abstracts* (1938-1951), and *Dissertation Abstracts* (1951-1959). Tentative plans have been made to revise the dissertation abstract compilation to bring it up to date through 1970.

Gross and De La Cruz (1971), *Social Studies Dissertations* (1963-1969), is an ERIC/ChESS publication, which updates the McPhie bibliography. In addition to annotations, subject and author indexes are provided.

Gephart (1970), *Research Studies in Education, A Subject and Author Index of Doctoral Dissertations, Reports and Field Studies*, is a Phi Delta Kappa publication which lists but does not annotate. It can provide a reference against which one can quickly double check titles and it may occasionally cite a study that other references have missed.

Not all universities submit their dissertations to be abstracted and microfilmed. Thus, there is always a possibility that some significant research is unavailable because no reporting system has considered it. Similarly, it is possible that some very fine work is essentially unavailable because it is contained in a master's thesis, or, for that matter, in a brilliant term paper. Some work may be unavailable because it is in private collections. Regardless, dissertations provide a large portion of social studies research reports.

Research Reports:

Studies funded by agencies of the government are conducted according to time schedules and final reports are required. These reports are technically in the public domain, unless classified for security reasons, and are available to those who can locate them.

Project directors usually keep copies of final reports. Other copies may be placed in nearby libraries, especially in the case of university based research. In addition, sponsoring agencies, such as the United States Office of Education and the National Science Foundation, maintain libraries containing reports of research that have been completed. Private foundations likewise file copies of research reports they have funded.

To alleviate the problem of "buried research," Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) was funded by the federal government to provide a clearinghouse for educational research. ERIC publishes a monthly catalog of current research reports, *Research in Education*, which is available on most university campuses and in educational research centers.

Other sources of research reports are the private non-profit research organizations, such as the Rand Corporation, Stanford Research Institute, Educational Development Center, American Institutes for Research, and others located near major cities and universities. Researchers are generally welcomed when they visit these research centers and permission to use documents is probable if one works in a center's private library.

Journals:

Other major sources of research reports are the professional journals. Almost every specialization has one or more. Depending on the journal, articles vary from meticulous to superficial. Each journal has its own criteria for publishing an article. *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Education Index* are major, cross-referenced indexes to journal literature.

Social Education is published ten times per year by the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). It periodically contains a research section and provides an annual review of research in social studies education. The first review was by Harrison and Solomon (1964). It covered the period 1960 through 1963. Harrison and Solomon (1965) also reviewed research done in 1964. Cox, Girault and Metcalf (1966); Girault and Cox (1967); Cox, Johnson and Payette (1968); and Johnson, Payette and Cox (1969) have each covered one year

of research in the field. These six reviews of research covering 1960 through 1969 are reprinted elsewhere in this reference. The seventh review appears in an issue of *Social Education* printed in the fall of 1971. It covers 1970.

Journal of Geography and *Social Studies* are other nationally distributed journals likely to obtain articles of interest to the social studies researcher. And eventually, each social science may have a journal devoted specifically to the social science educator working in that area. The *American Anthropologist* publishes some reports of use to educational researchers, and there is already a journal titled *Sociology of Education*.

Though they have not traditionally focused on research, journals published by state and regional social studies organizations publish some research reports. Among these are: *The Bulletin of the Minnesota Council for the Social Studies*, *Pennsylvania Social Studies News and Views*, *Indiana Social Studies News and Notes*, the *Ohio Council for the Social Studies Review*, the *Social Science Record* of the New York State Council for the Social Studies, and the *California Social Studies Review*. There are others and, as a group, they may be increasingly useful sources of research.

In addition to journals related specifically to social studies education, numerous others publish research reports in which social studies elements and programs are used as variables. *The Journal of Educational Research* and the *American Educational Research Journal*, for example, often contain reports of social studies research reports. Other useful journals include the *Harvard Educational Review*, *Journal of Psychology*, *Journal of Teacher Education*, *Perceptual Cognitive Development*, and *Psychological Abstracts*.

Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE) is a cooperative effort of ERIC and a private publisher. It provides monthly reports citing articles from educational literature.

Outside the United States, researchers also write reports, but few of these are catalogued in the previously cited references and journals. There are journals for the social studies educators in Japan, the Soviet Union, and Canada, to name a few. National, international, and transnational publications abound. A reasonable starting place for those interested in this literature is the UNESCO publications division in the United Nations building in New York City. National embassies will be helpful on request for specific information.

Books:

A basic reference, already cited, is the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. Each contains a review of social studies research over the previous decade. Murra, Wesley and Zink (1941); Carr, Wesley and Murra (1950); Gross and Badger (1960); and Sundeen and Skretting (1969) have provided *Encyclopedia* articles on "social studies." Each of these four reviews is reprinted elsewhere in this reference. The *Handbook of Research on Teaching* has already been cited, as has its article on social studies by Metcalf (1963).

An encyclopedia of social studies efforts in the 1960's is Lowe (1969), *Structure and the Social Studies*. This book is an overview of the curriculum reform movement of an active period. It describes major curriculum development projects in considerable detail.

Elementary School Social Studies: A Current Guide to Research by Dunfee (1970) cites 351 studies in a series of essays concerned with goals, social studies curriculum, children, learning, inquiry, media, evaluation, and teacher education. McLendon and Penix (1960, 1968) also reviewed research related to social studies teaching.

Buros (1938, 1965), *Mental Measurements Yearbook*, is an encyclopedia of standard tests. Tests are reviewed by experts in the area being tested and these reports are printed in each edition along with test titles and their sources. In addition, Buros (1961) has prepared a shorter publication, *Tests in Print*.

Information Systems:

It is apparent that there is more to read than any one researcher would ever care to survey. Finding out specifically what has already been done has never been easy. There has been a long standing need to develop an effective communications system to cope with the expansiveness of modern research literature.

ERIC was federally funded to link researchers together and provide them with a systematized forum and document distribution system. ERIC links the efforts of several Educational Resources Information Centers. Through ERIC one can purchase reports cited in *Research in Education* by writing the publications contractor specified in each issue. These documents are available in two formats: microfiche and hard copy.

ERIC/ChESS is the Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education. Funded by the United States Office of Education, ERIC/ChESS is located in Boulder, Colorado. It is responsible for the input of social studies and social science education information into the ERIC system. It publishes a newsletter, which refers to social studies materials available through ERIC. And, it prepares and publishes limited quantities of bibliographies and interpretive reports. Social studies researchers are encouraged to submit copies of their reports to ERIC/ChESS, which evaluates, indexes, and submits abstracts for publication in the ERIC journal, *Research in Education*.

University Microfilms, another information dissemination system, provides microfilm, microfiche, or xerographic reproductions of any dissertation in its files. It can also provide xerographic copies of almost any out of print books.

A literature review service is provided by DATRIX, another Xerox company. DATRIX is a computerized key word system that permits computer printed retrieval of studies in which a specified set of key words appeared. Given, for example, the key words "reflective-thinking-social-studies-education," the system would print out the authors and titles of dissertations in which such a combination of words appeared. Costs are determined by the number of references printed out. ERIC also plans to have a key word retrieval system.

Perhaps someday all document collections will be inter-connected and anyone will be able to achieve instant retrieval of information by merely saying what is of interest into a microphone. Until such a day arrives, researchers are limited by the several independent, non-synchronized communication systems that have developed. Still, it may never have been so easy to gather information as today. A larger problem than information retrieval is the rationalization of what is being done in social studies research and programs.

Conclusions

It seemed appropriate to provide a single reference focusing on research in the social studies. This is not to say that every study reported on previous or following pages is of equal or immediate value. Nor is it implied that the reviews are adequate for any and all research purposes. On reading them, it will be obvious that the reporting is uneven. Some studies are thoroughly described whereas others are almost casually mentioned as if readers knew precisely what they were about. Nevertheless, the reviews represent major efforts, and it cannot be denied that they summarize the heritage of social studies education—high-lighting some of its strengths, making visible some of its weaknesses.

Altogether, there has not been much significant research in social studies education. It has not been a "basic" research field in the same sense that psychology or biochemistry have been. Too few studies have generalizability or transferrability. That is, few of them lead to significant generalizations about the nature of learning, few are capable of replication in another place and another time. There is a lack of universality in them. Few, for example, could be replicated in another country. They point out how strong has been the interest in the past and how strong provincial, state, and regional interests are. This seems regrettable in a field so universal as social studies education has been, presumed to be.

A simple comparison of the type of research done in the 1930's with that of the prolific 1960's makes obvious the point that the field has grown in quality as well as quantity, though some students have pointed out that the same themes keep cropping up again and again. When the best of social studies research is sifted out and looked at, it deserves high ratings and provides a position of strength for future social studies researchers.

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II

ANALYSES OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

James M. Oswald and Kyung Soo Cha

Analyses are difficult undertakings. At best they are efforts to clarify. At worst they can be petulant diatribes, unworthy and uninteresting. Through analysis major points can be extracted and inspected with different frames of reference. Equalities and inequalities in research studies can be brought to light and studied intensively. Assumptions can be ferreted out. The scalpel of logic can serve analyses, whether they are autopsies or efforts to reveal inner brilliance as in diamond cutting.

Whatever their difficulties, analyses are worthwhile. After a research study is completed, its reports can be described, classified, and analyzed. The latter is the more difficult and hence the less frequently done. Perhaps this is a result of the difficulty of analysis, or, as is the assumption of this paper, a consequence of a field's immaturity. Social studies education research is a relatively new field. It has progressed, as the reviews of research indicate, through the description and classification stages and on several occasions in the 1960's has shown promise of becoming analytical.

What is painful about analysis is the cutting away of what once seemed important. The process, however, often reveals what is most important. Surely playwrights do not actually enjoy critical analysis of their plays, but analytical reviews are a part of the enterprise. They sometimes lead to better performances. Likewise, authors are rare who enjoy editors' and reviewers' analyses of their manuscripts. Rarer still are the scientists who enjoy having their findings repudiated or criticized. Despite these feelings, critical analysis remains an important human enterprise, and in a field so significant as social studies education, analyses of research seem essential. This paper is an introduction to analyses that readers are urged to perform on their own. It assumes that critical analyses are desirable, and it attempts to justify them as needs of the social studies field.

That research studies and their reviews are voluminous is obvious. What is less obvious is which of the studies have been the most worthy? This paper is an attempt to point out techniques and examples of appropriate questions readers themselves may ask in conducting analyses of research reviews and of research reports. What are the characteristics of the investigations is also an important question.

To assist in answering these questions, reviews of research are reprinted in section three. They cover the period between 1930 and 1969. In order to direct attention to the major emphases of the different reviews, the following section reprints 12 reviews of research. In this paper general analyses are provided under four headings: The Reviews of Research, An Hypothetical Case, Quality Controls in Social Studies Research, and Summary and Conclusions.

The Reviews of Research

The reviews themselves are a form of research, which is of interest. They are arranged in the following section from the most recent (1970) to the earliest (1939). Their styles differ. Their organizational frameworks and their emphases differ. Each of the reviewers approached the task slightly differently, which led to the following observations about the differences in the various reviews.

Metcalf (1963; p. 145) is the most analytical of the review articles. He chose the theme that theory is developing, cited evidence in support of the position, and disparaged frequent attention by social studies researchers to investigate the trivial, incidental, and peripheral. Logically sequenced, the article is persuasive for it cuts through hundreds of studies to focus upon what is perceived to be the most significant aspects of the studies, and is consequently a value-based analysis. It originally appeared in the *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (1963).

More typical of social studies research review articles is Gross (1960; p. 203). The article was written in 1958. As one of four encyclopedia articles, it provides the largest single cataloging of studies: 274, including a minimum number of value judgements. Gross provides a history of the field of social studies and classifies the research studies. The framework of categories includes five major areas: objectives; curriculum-elementary school curriculum patterns, secondary school curriculum patterns, history, government and civics, geography, sociology, psychology, twelfth-grade problems course, current events, college curriculum patterns, and selecting curriculum content; problems of instruction - methods of instruction, lecture and

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discussion, teacher-pupil planning, activities and projects, group processes, development of skills, teaching of controversial issues, other teaching materials, and reading in relation to the social studies; evaluation; and the social studies teacher.

Histories of the field are also provided by Carr, Wesley and Murra (1950; p. 229), who were deeply concerned about defining the "social studies." Their study contributes to establishing the domain of social studies. Determining the boundaries or parameters of social studies has been a traditional problem of the subject. Carr, Wesley, and Murra report developments associated with the following categories: definition; periods in social studies research; evolution of the social studies subjects - history, civics and government, geography, economics, sociology, problems of democracy, current events, and other courses; present status - central techniques and new emphases; objectives: selecting curricula control and activities; organizing the social studies curriculum; grade placement; learning in the social studies - character of social learning, effectiveness of instruction, social learning through direct experience, learning through language, place concepts, quantitative thinking, and critical thinking; methods in the social studies - current practices, evaluation of patterns of method, elements of method, telling or lecturing, questioning, directing study, directing pupil activity, and equipment; evaluation and measurement, the social studies teacher; and needed research. Their 1950 article cites 88 studies from the 1930's and 1940's, denoting an increase over the 46 studies that were reported in an earlier but similarly organized encyclopedia article, which concentrated on social studies research and developments during the 1930's, by Murra, Wesley, and Zink (1941), pp.

Payette, Cox and Johnson (1970, p. 21), in an annual review of social studies research published by *Social Education*, cite 101 studies reported during 1969. It indicates that, quantitatively, the field has exploded since the 1930's when reviewers had to dip into the 1920's to find as many as 46 studies. A qualitative shift also occurred between 1939, when few empirical studies were reported, and 1969, when many empirical studies were reported. From broad descriptive studies the field has shifted toward precise and carefully controlled experimental studies. The reporting categories have also changed, reducing the number of categories, though the number of studies has increased. The 1970 review of research classifies studies according to the three major categories, which are italicized: *antecedent conditions*-subject matter cluster and the social milieu cluster; *transactions*-cognitive contingency, affective contingency, direct purpose, and descriptive analytic; and *outcomes*-higher cognitive processes, instructional procedures, and teacher education. These three basic categories have been used in the *Social Education* series since Johnson, Payette and Cox (1969; p. 59). It contrasts with earlier annual reviews, published in 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1968, which utilized the topical framework introduced by Gross (1960). They are reprinted on pages 59-85 (1968), 87-103 (1967), 105-116 (1966), 117-130 (1965), and 131-143 (1964). The first article in this series (1964) reviews the first three years of the decade, 1960 - 1963.

Of the four encyclopedia articles on social studies derived from *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (1941, 1950, 1960, and 1969), the most recent is Sundeen and Skretting (1969, p. 45). It cites 97 references and, since it covers a period that produced annual research reviews, does not attempt to cite every study. Covering the 1960's, this article can be used in conjunction with the annual reviews to provide a comprehensive overview of an expansionistic decade in social studies research. The article is unique in title, for it introduces the term "social studies education." It is briefer than preceding encyclopedia articles titled "social studies." Organizationally, however, this article is similar to those earlier encyclopedia articles (1960, 1950, and 1941) in providing categories such as: history of the field; objectives; sources of content - history, geography, economics, and area studies; organizing the curriculum - secondary school curriculum; instruction, learning problems, teaching strategies, reading, and time and chronology; materials - textbooks, programmed and simulated materials, and audiovisual aids; evaluation; and teacher education.

The 12 social studies research reviews, excellent as they may be, cannot substitute for analyses of original research reports themselves. Reviews describe and categorize research studies, but reviews cannot provide complete data regarding any specific research project. In this sense reviews are not critical and should not be expected to be. With few exceptions, they are descriptive in nature. An exception is the Metcalf article, which is both a critical analysis and a review of research. It and the other reviews are useful. They do as reviews should, i.e., provide systematic overviews of research reported during certain periods of time. Without research reviews, the vast body of original research reports would be even less well known.

A word about provinciality seems appropriate. Social studies is a field that developed in the United States in the twentieth century. The first usage of the term "social studies" occurred in professional literature between 1900 and 1917. Social studies has become an international curriculum reform movement centered in the United States and in "American culture." Almost all research in the field has been by investigators trained

in the United States. Most of the studies have sampled United States populations. Cross-cultural research in social studies has been minimal. Few studies are conducted simultaneously in several cultures or even with different sub-cultures in the United States. The typical study is mono-cultural. Many of the studies could, however, be replicated in other cultures. Until trans-national-cross-cultural studies are initiated in larger number, the nucleus of social studies research must be considered nationalistic, provincial in the sense that it consists mostly of local, state, and national studies.

Longitudinal studies, investigations of subjects' behavior over extended periods of time, are rare but not absent in the social studies. Social studies research projects tend to be brief in duration, a reflection of the inadequate financial resources of the field and also of the field's dependency upon doctoral studies.

From a study of research reviews, it seems apparent that social studies has not been a critically analytic field. For the most part, reviewers have been gentle and kind, generous with praise and sparing with criticism. A social studies research report is not likely to generate critical analysis within the field though a researcher may present findings and be criticized within the broader field of educational research, as, for example, in a publication or meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Within the professional field of social studies education, a new study is likely to be described rather than analyzed in social studies publications and meetings. The situation is different from the fields of philosophy and science. In meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and in its journal, *Science*, findings and reports are openly analyzed, often criticized. Research reports attract disputants and critics and provoke replications in many fields. In critically analytical fields, researchers report the findings with caution, often pointing out alternative interpretations of the phenomena being studied.

A social studies researcher can usually expect neither replication or analysis, but descriptions of the findings can be expected as can an occasional valuing such as "good," "useful," or "important."

Social studies research seems, on the basis of a comparison of early and more recent research reviews, to be increasing in critical analytic capacity. But this capability is rooted in attitude and philosophy and is not yet firmly established.

An excellent effort to establish a beachhead for critical analysis is that comparative analysis of research presented at an annual meeting of The National Council for the Social Studies by Barak Rosenshine (1970). Titled "Experimental Classroom Studies of Teacher Training, Teaching Behavior, and Student Achievement," University of Illinois Bureau of Educational Research, the paper is a classic example of the "diamond cutting" qualities of critical analysis (see Appendix B).

It seems important to keep in mind that there are many kinds of research, each of which has unique advantages. Empirical research requires precision and controls, and provides reliable results that may be useful, but are not innately so. Conceptual analysis, value analysis, and theoretical and historical research are all important though seldom used strategies in social studies research.

While it is essential that social studies research be of high quality, it is also important to remember that there are many kinds of quality. An immediately rewarding study based on a popular model is not necessarily the best.

A purpose of this reference is to stimulate analysis of the reprinted reviews of research and also to stimulate analyses of original research reports themselves. Research reports cannot be provided in their original formats because of lack of space. Nevertheless, one report will be cited. It represents an effort at practical research having direct impact upon social studies curricula. It is well written and organized; is in the public domain in several formats; and it contains surprises, those unpredicted events which researchers love and never quite seem to understand or control. The report is: Edwin Fenton, John M. Good, Mitchell P. Lichtenberg, *A High School Social Studies Curriculum for Able Students: An Audio Visual Component to A High School Social Studies Curriculum for Able Students*, Final Report, Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon University Social Studies Curriculum Center, April 1969 (United States Office of Education, Bureau of Research Report No. EDO30672).

An Hypothetical Case

- I. Suppose researcher X publishes "study Y," an investigation of the pre- and post- "history course" performance of 50 secondary school studies on a critical thinking test . . .
- II. Appropriate questions for researcher X and analysts are:

What were the independent variables?
 What were the dependent variables?
 What were the intervening variables?
 What were the reliability levels of the tests?
 What were the validities of the tests?
 What populations were sampled?
 Were selection procedures appropriate?
 What were the time intervals between pre- and post- testing?
 Upon what theories were the hypotheses based?
 Were the results of the two tests significantly different?
 Were the tests appropriate for the hypotheses?
 How do the results relate to the research hypotheses?
 What conclusions does the researcher state?
 What other conclusions are implicit in the experimental results?
 How are the researcher's conclusions warranted?
 What previous research is refuted or supported by the reported findings?
 Can the research be replicated?
 Has the research been replicated?
 What future research is implied by the reported findings?
 What, of worth, is derived from the study?
 What is the rationale for the worthwhileness judgement?

1.1. Alternative Reviews of "Study Y"

- A. "Researcher X reported significant gains in critical thinking skills among 50 secondary school students as a result of a history course. It is not clear whether X taught the course, whether control groups were used, or the level of significance of the results."
- B. "Researcher X found that secondary history students score higher on critical thinking tests."
- C. "Though inconclusive, 'study Y' is a basic contribution to social studies research because of its design simplicity and its potential replicability."
- D. "Researcher shows that critical thinking is a very important outcome of history courses."

Quality Controls in Social Studies Research

When there are few checks on performance, errors are likely to occur. Social studies research, as a field, lacks the systematic quality checks which would exist if analyses of research were conducted in an open forum.

Inappropriate uses of statistics, erroneous applications of randomization, comparisons of groups which are not equivalent, inadequate sampling procedures, projections based upon inconclusive evidence, and unwarranted conclusions are research defects that ought to be and usually have been avoided by social studies researchers. If studies have implemented quality controls, then open forum critical analysis would merely reinforce the positive attributes of the research being evaluated. To have the entire body of social studies research analyzed would seem to be an asset for the field. Having numerous analyses would be even better.

It is entirely possible that the field of social studies has a sound basis, which can be demonstrated through research. Its eclecticism may be of great strength. Intuitively, social studies education may have been founded upon warranted assumptions that can be supported by the severest tests researchers can design. There are other possibilities as well, and these too deserve consideration.

Researchers in any field sometimes make errors, the correction of which would either strengthen or invalidate their findings. Unfortunately, if a social studies researcher wanted to report an error, one's own or one's reinterpretation of another's studies, there is no adequate forum to which such information could be submitted. The most widely circulated journal reaches only 10 to 15 percent of the field's practitioners. This creates a predicament and increases the possibility of error being accepted as truth.

The field is highly personalized and may need an impersonal technique for making critical analyses, for criticizing studies without criticizing the researcher who performed the study. Objectivity seems eventually to require a depersonalization.

It is to the advantage of all if a study is critique for the assets it may provide and for the errors it may contain. Objectivity does not require defaming of character. Somehow, maybe objectivity will just evolve out of increased emphasis upon research in social studies. The field may need to focus research objectives on ideas, values and procedures, and to de-emphasize personalities. Maybe the way to generate such objectivity is to encourage many researchers to study the same phenomena. This would provide the maximum data, provide built-in checks to reduce researcher bias, cancel out minor errors, and de-personalize analysis and implementation of the findings. The dilemma is how to do this without the leverage, available in several fields, of generous financial rewards. Perhaps professional rewards could be a substitute.

Objectivity requires the acceptance of negative results. It is as important to know what will not work as what will despite the strong desire to make research results appear positive.

It seems desirable to popularize critical analysis of present and future research in social studies. After all, there are several hundred thousand social studies teachers in the United States alone and several thousand social studies professors in colleges and universities. For the millions of social studies students and their teachers, it is important that social studies curricula have sound bases, and that social studies research have meaningful implications for social studies students.

Much of what has been done in the way of research may have been trivial, though, at the same time, a nucleus of concepts and techniques has definitely been developed. These are at the heart of social studies and though they are theoretically, empirically, and practically sound, they are not adequately clear or popularly known. Social studies education does have a body of knowledge and technique. Future researchers might well be directed toward building upon this nucleus. It seems to be associated with reflective thinking, concept development, critical thinking, and value analysis.

Fortunately, a strategy for increasing research quality can reasonably be expected to succeed among social studies researchers. They are few in number and are accessible since they are concentrated near universities and urban centers. They are aspirant, both within the field and in the broader context of educational research. They are young, compared to the average age of personnel in the social studies career field. They are already committed to systematic inquiry and are already interested in being precise by virtue of having volunteered or having been selected for participation in a research project of some sort.

A strategy for improving social studies research quality through wider circulation of reports and careful analysis of results seems timely and deserves thoughtful consideration among leaders in the social studies education field. Each author of a research review has had the goal in mind of laying groundwork for improvement of research quality in the field. The reviewers have received too little attention, generated too little response. This reference is another attempt to stimulate analyses of social studies education research, its usefulness and quality.

Summary and Conclusions

A general analysis of the field of social studies research has included descriptive, critical, and suggestive comments. The major reporting patterns of research reviewers have been presented as introductions to the reviews in the section which follows. Undoubtedly, a list of major research faults could be drafted and social studies research projects could be classified according to the predominant finding and/or type of error. To do this has not seemed worthwhile in this reference. It seems more desirable to direct effort toward minimizing errors in the future as a result of reflecting on past research. The quality and usefulness of social studies investigations deserve analysis. Replication of error seems less likely if researchers are familiar with previous investigations in the field.

Encouraging readers to study research reviews and reports and to make their own analyses seems preferable to providing a neat table of errors and a pre-digested set of conclusions.

An hypothetical research project was sketched in rough form. Analytical questions were asked of it and four possible reviews were provided. The intent of An Hypothetical Case was to focus attention on major research analysis questions and research reporting alternatives. To have presented an actual research report and actual reviews of it would have required more space than was available or necessary. And dealing with an hypothetical case provided an example of the de-personalization which has been suggested as desirable.

Original social studies research reports were recommended as appropriate for analysis. Reasons were given for the selection and citation of one particular research report over several hundreds of others.

Through descriptive analyses, 12 research reviews were introduced. They are reprinted in the following section in order to stimulate discussion and conceptualization of the field. As has been explained, the review articles have been arbitrarily arranged in inverse order to the sequence in which they originally appeared, i.e. 1970 - 1940 instead of 1940 - 1970.

Several quality control needs have been discussed. They include a need for wider review of findings, and a system for reporting errors.

What remains is for readers to analyze this paper, the reviews, and the original research reports. Readers must then reach their own conclusions about where the social studies have been and where the social studies are going and determine what role they will play in the field's development.

Quality controls in research are desirable, but they cannot be assumed to lead to changes in social studies curricula or teaching practice. Nevertheless, they are of value in and of themselves, and therefore deserve careful attention. Readers should ask themselves, now and as they read the following research reviews, to what degree and in what ways are these analyses of social studies research supported by your personal experience in the field and by the research reviews in the following section?

The strategy of unifying the social studies research field into a more concentrated effort with a more limited range seems a logical conclusion following an investigation of the field's research since the 1930's and its history since 1916. There is no assurance, however, that any results of such a concentrated effort would ever be implemented. Tens of hundreds of researchers have daringly tried to make an impact on social studies through meticulous research projects. They have often found neither recognition or implementation of their findings. Intentional replications of research projects have been rare in social studies. Research has not often caused curricular change in social studies.

Research has not been a major route to success in social studies, compared, for example, with textbook authorship or work in professional organizations. It has not been determined whether this has led researchers into other roles, generated an outmigration from the field, or both.

Studies of social studies educators have provided explanations for the lack of critical analysis in the field. For example, Charlotte Englebourg, "The Social Studies Educator," *The Journal of Teacher Education*, XXI, 4, Winter 1970, pp. 509-514, analyzed the preparation and career patterns of professionals in the social studies. The study supports the view that there is a wide range of academic talent in the social studies field (see Appendix A).

Future analysts of social studies research might begin their work by creating a scenario in their minds. The scenario might be introduced with a question: "Suppose no research had been done in the social studies field, how then would educational practices differ from the present?" Or, on a more positive note, one could ask, "If a social studies curriculum were to be based upon research findings, how would it differ from present curricula?"

III REVIEWS OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

Twelve review articles are reprinted on the following pages. They are arranged sequentially from most recent (1970) to least recent (1939).

A cover page precedes each article and cites its original publication source. These cover pages are numbered: 21, 45, 59, 87, 105, 117, 131, 145, 185, 203, 229, and 257. Page numbers are located throughout this section at the bottom of each page. Other numbers are pagination reproduced in the publication in which these articles originally appeared.

RESEARCH REVIEW ONE

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REVIEW OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL STUDIES: 1969

by ROLAND F. PAYETTE, C. BENJAMIN COX, and WILLIAM D. JOHNSON

RECENT EDITIONS of SOCIAL EDUCATION's annual review of research (39) have been undergoing change. The change is to be found not in the nature and focus of the research reported, but rather in the organization of the review and the attempt by the reviewers to communicate perceived relationships among the findings of independent researchers in social studies education.

Two years ago the review contained such familiar categories as curriculum, instruction, measurement and evaluation, and the social studies teacher. Last year's review employed a combination of familiar and functionally-oriented classifications. The sub-headings under the familiar categories were derived from Stake's evaluation model (84). The organization of the present review differs from its predecessors in that it utilizes Stake's conceptualizations of antecedents, transactions, and outcomes as its primary categories. In attempting to describe the full countenance of evaluation, Stake stipulated that "an antecedent is any condition existing prior to teaching and learning which may relate to outcomes. Transactions are the countless encounters of students with teacher, student with student, author with reader, parent with counselor—the succession of engagements which comprise the process of education. Outcomes are the consequences of educating—immediate and long-

range, cognitive and conative, personal and community-wide."

It is anticipated that the use of Stake's formulations will assist the reviewers to identify points of convergence not only in research findings but also in topics investigated and research methods employed. One reason for this expectation is that the trichotomy of antecedents, transactions, and outcomes facilitates the classification of studies under more than one heading. Over half of the studies were classified under two or more primary categories. Additionally, sub-categories were selected to emphasize similarities among studies. That is, most sub-categories subsumed several studies. For example, the sub-category of subject matter under the primary category of antecedents includes 30 studies, nearly a third of the studies noted in the review.

As is typical in social studies research, *Dissertation Abstracts* is the predominant single source of research in the field. In this year's review, three-fourths of the investigations were reported in the 12 months of *Abstracts* surveyed. Two important consequences follow from this preponderance of dissertation research. The first is that most of the research lacks continuity since the dissertation is usually the first publishable work performed by the investigator. The second consequence is that most of the research neglects the study of broad and fundamental problems since the dissertation is predominantly the work of an individual with limited time and financial resources. Ten of the remaining studies were reported in *SOCIAL EDUCATION* and three other journals. Also, 13 studies were presented as papers to the American Educational Research Association.

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ANTECEDENT CONDITIONS

It will be recalled that antecedents refer to conditions existing prior to instruction which may relate to outcomes. Since antecedent conditions generally comprise the considerations in planning for instruction, it should not be too surprising that a significant number of research studies are identified as concerned with antecedent conditions. In this review 50 of the 97 studies were viewed as relative to antecedent conditions. To deal with this large number of studies systematically, Schwab's (76) categories of forces that influence educational policy were used. Separate forces that operate to determine educational policy are represented by Schwab as a social milieu cluster, a teacher cluster, a learner cluster, and a subject matter cluster. The assumption herein is that these factors may be used to identify varying emphases in research concerned with antecedent conditions in the social studies.

SUBJECT MATTER CLUSTER

The largest single group of studies dealing with antecedent conditions was listed under the subject matter cluster. Of the studies categorized as antecedent conditions, 30 related primarily to the subject matter cluster. Of these 30 studies, 13 were amenable to classification under other headings as well. Thus, many of the studies reported in this section labelled antecedent conditions are discussed under two or more of the sub-categories in this section.

One study dealt with subject matter factors related to the geographic education of college students. Robertson (68) utilized an extended questionnaire to determine the status of geographic education among the two-year colleges of the United States. He concluded that survey courses dominate the geography course offerings of two year colleges and that the existence of a department of geography is not related to the proportion of students enrolled in geography.

A series of 16 studies was concerned either directly with the status of various subject matter fields or indirectly with factors leading to or resulting from the status of various subject matter areas. Three studies were concerned directly with the status of various subject matter areas or combinations of these areas.

Moore (54) employed a questionnaire survey of State Departments of Education and of superintendents of the most populous school districts in each

state to identify the prevalence of state history courses in junior and senior high school. He found that at least 35 states require instruction in state history within grades 7 through 12, while all 50 states offer state history at some level. His examination of 30 representative textbooks for as many states provided the basis for the following generalizations: 1. most textbooks in state history emphasize the uniqueness of the state; 2. they neglect interstate relationships; 3. they indicate the influence of national trends, if at all, only in the context of the single state's reaction; 4. they have little correspondence to national history; and 5. they may distort the common history of all citizens of the United States.

Wells (97) summarized the secondary social studies curriculum recommendations made from 1893-1967. These recommendations were made by 55 committees representing 12 national organizations associated with education, history, the social sciences, and law. From 1893 to 1916, committee recommendations favored college preparation. From 1916 to 1930, experimentation and expansion of the social studies were recommended with the emphasis on unified courses and to a degree on citizenship education. Since 1930 the major emphasis has been on the core curriculum and the development of competent citizens.

Saunders (74) surveyed 216 elementary teachers to determine the extent to which their perceptions of the social studies parallel those recommended by authorities in the field. Half of the teachers defined social studies and identified its purpose in the same terms as the authorities, but district courses of study and basic textbooks were used by half of the teachers as the basis for organizing the social studies experiences in the schools. Scope and sequence in these schools also matched the traditional programs reported in the literature.

A set of seven studies emphasized either the description or analysis of factors influencing the status of subject matter areas. Cotters (19) surveyed Maryland geography teachers for the 1964-65 school year to study "all aspects" of high school geography education. In addition to suggesting increased offerings in geography and the preparation of course guides, he recommended that teaching be performed only by certified geography teachers.

Prehn (65) described economic education in the

New York Public Schools between 1946 and 1966. He tried to identify the influence of the Joint Council on Economic Education on the curriculum. He reported that the New York City Council on Economic Education revised the curriculum through a program of publications. He stated that many questions remained unanswered concerning the contributions of other instructional areas to economic education. Historical inquiry, questionnaires, and interview techniques were used by Broyles (14) to assess the influence of a variety of factors on Delaware social studies. Course guidelines were found not to have been influenced by nationally-oriented curriculum projects.

Tucker (92) analyzed and classified dimensions identified in the literature about the "new" social studies. The dimensions related to questions about the content and the inquiry orientation of the "new" social studies. Content questions referred to both the social science disciplines and the practical problems of man and society. Inquiry-oriented questions referred to descriptive and normative problems. He concluded that the new social studies contain multiple dimensions which imply different potentialities.

Bechtel (9) analyzed selected American history, geography, and civics textbooks written by American authors for grades 7 through 12 and published between 1885 and 1914. The investigator's purpose was to determine the extent of civic attitudes in the statements of the authors. He found that superiority of the American culture was emphasized only in history textbooks published after 1900, that very little evidence of Americanism, as defined in his study, could be found in the government and civics textbooks, and that international understanding was promoted in all of the geography textbooks.

Kane (40) compared the reactions of California high school social science teachers with those of selected specialists in social science education on the teaching of contemporary affairs. He found agreement between the two groups concerning the value of contemporary affairs, the importance of a written district policy regarding controversial issues, and the need to integrate contemporary affairs into daily lessons.

Shields (80) surveyed the effectiveness of an in-service training program for the social studies teachers and principals in the schools of one West Virginia county. The training included formal presentation by social scientists and methodologists, discussions, and a workshop session wherein new objectives were formulated by the social studies teachers. Question-

naires administered before and after the sessions illustrated gains in teachers' and principals' perceptions of the importance of the social studies and increasing understanding of the relationship between the social sciences and the social studies.

Of the 16 studies treating the status of subject areas within the social studies, six were directly concerned with consequences resulting from present practices. Thematic analysis was employed by Banks (6, 7) to determine the treatment of Negroes and race relations in 36 intermediate and upper elementary American history texts. Results were reported in terms of 11 discrimination themes and the interrelationships among them. The investigator concluded that more needs to be known about the inconsistency between American ideals and behavior and more about deprivations experienced by Blacks.

Leeper and Moyer (45) surveyed university students, experienced teachers, supervisors, and principals on their civic literacy. Six questions were included in his questionnaire. Up to 80 percent of all students' answers and up to 75 percent of teachers' answers were judged inadequate. Seventy-five percent of the students who had completed at least 18 hours in the social studies and an equal proportion of the teachers who had taught social studies from one to over twenty-one years could not give acceptable definitions of the social studies.

Economic understandings of high school seniors in Alabama were investigated by Alexander (2). He used the *Test of Economic Understanding* and found that topics related to consumer behavior were more often understood than was economic theory.

Larkins and Shaver (44) summarized a series of well-conducted studies designed to determine the feasibility of Senesh's *Our Working World* for first grade pupils. The *Primary Economics Test* was developed and refined to test for economic concepts. PET scores were obtained from instructed and uninstructed groups. The researchers concluded that instructed pupils knew significantly more economic concepts than did the uninstructed.

Patrick (61) presented a striking summary of the effects of formal instruction on political learning. He reported that many research findings challenge the view that formal instructional programs have important effects on political learning. Patrick recommended that a revision of current civics and government courses should bring the content of these courses in line with current scholarship in the social sciences and that course content should be reorganized around key concepts.

Lindemer (47) surveyed New Jersey public and private historical museums to determine services used by elementary schools. He found that printed material and class visits were the most frequently used services.

A summary of the 16 studies reviewed thus far would indicate a sharp decline in the research concern for the parent social science disciplines and history. The immediate research concern in 1969 was for the conditions surrounding the use of the disciplines and history.

Six studies, although classifiable under the rubric "subject matter cluster," represent attempts by researchers to utilize subject matter formulations to serve their particular research interest or purposes. Sullivan (88) designed an investigative tool from anthropology for use in the social studies curriculum. Based on four major anthropologically centered theories of culture change, the investigative tool permits the student to study eras of change from the point of view of experience flow, emergence, cultural unity experiences, and reflective experiences.

In conjunction with the development of the High School Geography Project, Kurfman (48) elaborated a model for evaluating curriculum material. The model provided explicit descriptions for revising parts of units poorly rated by student and teacher users.

Nesmith (56) prepared a student guide to Texas history from 1870 to 1900 for the purpose of teaching the historical method and its use to high school students.

Young (100) developed a resource unit for teaching about the religions of the world in conjunction with a world cultures course in secondary school social studies. He applied social scientific analysis to religious phenomena. His basic approach to the study of religion presumed some study of the cultural areas treated and viewed the study of religions as supplementary to other materials.

Lovetere (50) tested whether a specially developed set of readings could be used for the study of government in the eighth grade. He established that there was a relationship between the special set of readings and learning about government.

Struve (86) administered questionnaires to high school students and parents to assess their awareness of political leaders and issues, their feelings of political efficacy, their concepts of citizenship, and their sense of citizen duty. He concluded that existing social studies and school programs tend to re-enforce the generally apathetic interest patterns learned at

home rather than stimulating changes in political behavior.

While still classifiable under the "subject matter cluster," six additional studies are reviewed which represent movement further away from a central concern with parent social science disciplines and history. From the theories of Langer, Dewey, and Hofstadter, and the views of some literary critics, Heil (37) extracted nine aesthetic categories for valuing children's literature in social studies. The attempt was to advance an aesthetic framework as a means of utilizing literature in social studies as an alternative to traditional frames of social science content and processes. Heil argued that prose fiction, e.g., children's wonder tales, can emphasize man's feelings and undergoings as well as his doing.

Gray (31) identified a set of value-related educational tasks for the social studies. To counter the fact that social studies educators have avoided the realm of values and issues in the past, Gray proposed a set of fifteen educational outcomes primarily concerned with learning about values and value processes and how to inquire into value issues.

By using a social systems approach, Ellis (28) sought to identify linkages between the school and the teaching of critical thinking as related to citizenship, dogmatism, and self-concept. Data were obtained by measures of the criterion behaviors and by questionnaires given to a sample of eleventh grade students. His treatment of the data revealed relationships between curriculum aspects and critical thinking. O'Neill (59) trained four teaching candidates to teach for critical thinking. In his study he produced a variety of materials relating to teaching for critical thinking.

Steel (85) described the guidance program in Project PLAN. Information about a variety of occupations is presented to PLAN students beginning at the elementary level and continuing through the intermediate and secondary levels. PLAN students learn about some of the major tasks performed, working conditions, educational requirements, variety of training paths, pay, and personal and social benefits for a specific occupation. The occupational education program described by Steel is an integral part of the PLAN Social Studies Curriculum.

Atkins (5) designed a questionnaire based on 32 operational and substantive criteria for judging inservice programs for social studies teachers to survey 23 school systems in Tennessee. He found that program planning criteria frequently included curriculum development as well as other factors.

In summary, it may be noted that independence and discreteness are the dominant characteristics of research in the subject matter cluster. Contrary to the trend observed in last year's review, i.e., "the resurgence of interest in the separate disciplines via several of the curriculum projects," the research in social studies content conducted in 1969 would appear to be limited largely to the particular perspectives of individual researchers.

THE TEACHER CLUSTER

According to Schwab, a second cluster of educational policy factors consists of fundamental characteristics of teachers or the teaching process. Included in this category are 22 studies concerned with teacher-related factors that exist prior to instruction.

Three studies investigated factors considered influential in curriculum planning and development. Sessow (79) described the manner in which an individual school system considered influential factors while in the process of curriculum planning in the social studies. He reported that in-service programs for teachers and the involvement of people had a significant influence on planning the elementary social studies program. He also reported that professional educational organizations seemed to have little influence on the planning of social studies programs.

Cotters (19) surveyed Maryland geography teachers for the 1964-65 school year to study aspects of high school geography education. A variety of recommendations was made including the appointment of a State Supervisor of Geography, county geography supervisors, and geography teachers for small schools. In-service experiences for teachers, the preparation of course guides, increases in geography programs, and the standard that only certified geography teachers be permitted to teach geography were also recommended.

Historical inquiry, questionnaires, and interview techniques were used by Broyles (14) to assess the influence of a variety of factors on Delaware social studies course guidelines. Course guidelines were found to have been influenced especially by national and state committees. The researcher recommended in-service programs for teachers and guideline revision under state department leadership.

From the three studies concerned with influences on curriculum planning and development, it can be observed that, although national and state groups are judged to be influential in curriculum decision making, teachers are consistently viewed as an integral

part of the development process, e.g., in-service programs for teachers are usually recommended.

A separate but related study investigated in-service experiences for teachers. Atkins (5) designed a questionnaire based on 32 operational and substantive criteria for judging in-service programs for social studies teachers, and utilized this questionnaire to survey 23 school systems in Tennessee. Program plans most often satisfied the criteria of teacher participation and emphasis on inductive teaching. Most school systems employed fewer than half of the 32 criteria in designing their experiences and, in general, the programs were viewed as not affecting teacher behavior.

Four studies raised questions about either teacher preparation or teacher influence. Two of these four studies indicated that teacher influence could be increased by changing the student's role in the classroom.

In describing and analyzing changes in the economic component of the social studies curriculum in the New York Public Schools, Prehn (65) stated that one of the many questions remaining unanswered regarding the new approaches to economic education concerned the effect of teacher preparation on the effectiveness of new programs. Also, in summarizing a series of studies designed to determine the feasibility of Senesh's *Our Working World* for first grade pupils, Larkins and Shaver indicated that teacher experience with the materials was not related to pupils' success.

Struve's (86) study of the political awareness of high school students and their parents confirmed prior studies of political socialization. However, the investigator suggested that discussion, observation, and participation can affect the political awareness and efficacy of students.

Although Patrick (61) saw little evidence to indicate that the formal instructional programs had an important effect on political behavior, he recommended that newer instructional strategies should be based on actively engaging students in the quest for knowledge. Such strategies, he felt, would increase the effect of classroom learning on political action.

One study was more concerned with the nature of the teacher's role as a political socialization agent than with the effects of the role. Long (49) investigated the role perception and performance of social studies teachers as political socialization agents. On the basis of sex, race, and teaching levels and experience, Long collected questionnaire data on role agreement, authority orientation, sanction awareness,

and perception of political socialization role from 64 secondary social studies teachers in Indianapolis. Utilizing a strict statistical design, Long found female teachers more independent than male teachers; but the men were more permissive and expressive in controversial situations. Experienced teachers had higher role agreement perceptions than inexperienced teachers and were also more sensitive to potential outside sanctions; but inexperienced teachers tended more to see their role as unique in the society. Negro teachers were more independent than white teachers, while white teachers had both a higher authority orientation and sanction sensitivity. Long constructed a model representing determinants of civic education orientation—including the teacher's methods and objectives, his own and student evaluation criteria, and his motivation to change or rate the orientation—within which his findings could be discussed.

Four studies noted positive potentialities in teacher preparation or participation. In his elaboration of a model for evaluating curriculum material, Kurfman (43) concluded that the geographic preparation of teachers was significantly related to student learning with some materials.

Limbacher (46) found that the micro-teaching training received by students in the Teaching Techniques Laboratory of the University of Illinois prior to student teaching resulted in significantly higher ratings of the student teachers by their pupils in the field. The 25 social studies student teachers who received the experimental treatment obtained significantly higher pupil evaluations on a ten-item single teaching rating instrument and on the more comprehensive *Illinois Teacher Evaluation Questionnaire* than did the 25 student teachers who received no training. Cooperating teacher evaluation of student teachers was not affected by the training. Analysis of Flanders' data of video taped beginning and end lessons indicated the control group obtained higher indirect-direct ratios. Significant differences on field measures support Limbacher's assumption that on-campus training programs do affect student teaching behavior in a measurable way.

Rice and Findley (66), in a statement intended to encourage research on curriculum outcomes and processes, stated that teacher variables are of more interest in curriculum research than methodological considerations, provided that the evidence is collected in such a manner as to be reliable.

Grahlfs and Hering (30), in describing population selection methods in the field testing of a national

curriculum project, indicated that attempting to secure a representative sample is less efficient than an evaluation relying on a test population of teachers which is selected on the basis of likelihood to complete the evaluation with careful supervision and visitation by staff members.

Two researchers dealt with the teacher's role as an evaluator and specific procedures employed by evaluation. Baum (8) developed attitude scales which dealt with the teacher's role as an evaluator. He found that students prefer a flexible type of evaluation on the part of the teacher where each pupil's needs and abilities are taken into account rather than rigid evaluation reflecting set standards.

Tufte (93) studied five groups of teacher trainees at different levels of preparation in order to assess their predisposition to use open-ended questions for discussion and evaluation in social studies classrooms. All groups rated objectives dealing with attitudes and appreciations as most important in social studies and selected the open-ended questions from those offered in the questionnaire as preferable for class discussion. In evaluation situations, however, only those at the lowest levels of teacher preparation maintained this same high preference for open-ended questions. All groups were equally reluctant and unable to compose open-ended questions to fit specific evaluation situations. Pre- and post-course administration of the criterion measure established that the methods course taken by the criterion group had no effect on trainees' preference or skill in writing open-ended questions.

One study investigated the effects on teacher behavior of video-tape supervision. Harder (33) secured teacher behavior data on video-tape. Teacher behavior was analyzed by utilizing Flanders' interaction categories. All teachers became more indirect as a result of the video-tape supervision.

Two studies compared the responses of teachers to instructional topics with the responses of specialists and laymen to the same topics. Kane (40) compared the reaction of high school social science teachers with those of selected specialists in social science education. He found agreement between the two groups on the availability of classroom materials for contemporary affairs instruction. Little agreement was found regarding the importance of classroom materials and television.

O'Leary (58) constructed a list of forty statements about communism and submitted it to twelve hundred persons in Massachusetts including school board members, superintendents, social studies teachers,

lawyers, members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and American Legion post commanders. From the return questionnaires, O'Leary found that schoolmen and laymen were in general agreement on the suitability of the given items for discussion in secondary social studies classrooms, although teaching about communism was of more concern to the schoolmen. More differences of opinion between schoolmen and laymen were reflected in items dealing with philosophical, political, and economic aspects than with historical aspects of communism. The teachers and post commanders showed the greatest differences from the total group. The investigator concluded that more objective materials and better teacher preparation are needed to support teaching about communism.

Saunders (74) surveyed 216 elementary teachers to determine the extent to which their practices in teaching social studies parallel those recommended by authorities in the field. Less than half of the teachers had completed a social studies methods course since 1960 and only one-fourth had participated in some form of in-service training during that time. Over half the teachers used various audio-visual and other materials, but few used educational television pertaining to social studies. Fewer than half used grouping procedures and evaluation techniques were limited in number.

Two researchers developed tasks and behaviors for teachers entailed in the teaching of critical thinking. O'Neill (59) trained four teaching candidates to teach critical thinking. In his study he devised a behavioral model of critical thinking and designed an instrument for quantifying these observed behaviors. Gray (31) identified a set of value-related educational tasks for the social studies and delineated the function of the methods course in preparing teachers to implement these tasks in classrooms. The researcher prepared a series of instructional units for the methods course which clarify and implement his recommended procedures.

One study attempted to identify outstanding teachers. Chapman (16) used intensive classroom visitations to prepare vignettes of nine outstanding social studies teachers in the tri-state area of Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. Multiple judgments of school administrators, peer teachers, and records of accrediting agencies were used to identify the outstanding teachers. The investigator related her findings to those of other investigators as determined by an extensive search of the literature. The value of this study was seriously impaired by the lack of specific informa-

tion indicating the precise nature of the findings.

One trend that emerges from the 22 studies concerned with teacher-related factors is the attempt to become more specific and descriptive about the behaviors teachers can actually employ in classrooms. To the extent that more becomes known about teacher behaviors in relation to learning in the social studies, the reliability of knowledge and the capability for theory construction will be increased.

THE LEARNER CLUSTER

Again utilizing Schwab's conceptions, a third cluster of educationally significant factors relates to the learner, his experiences, his capabilities, and his needs. Of the 17 studies surveyed in relation to the learner cluster, eight were primarily concerned that information about the learner be considered in educational decision making.

One investigator described the manner in which an individual school system dealt with influencing factors while in the process of curriculum planning in the social studies. Sesow (79) reported that evaluation probably had the greatest influence on the planning activities. Another factor that appeared to have a significant influence on planning the elementary social studies program was the pupil population.

Bierbaum (10) constructed a World Affairs Test and a Personal Experience Questionnaire to investigate hypothesized relationship among children's knowledge of world affairs and certain personal characteristics, such as grade in school and background experiences. Among the 362 Florida school children sampled in grades one through six, grade level was found to be related to knowledge of world affairs. A supportive trend was found for experiential factors. The investigator concluded that teachers must be aware of their pupils' understanding of world affairs and of personal and experimental factors when planning curricula related to world affairs.

Ellis (22) tested 496 Oregon pupils in grades four and six for their understanding of 47 common physical geography terms used in elementary texts. A multiple choice verbal test and a multiple choice picture test were used. The investigator found that a number of common terms, including cape, sandbar, plateau, cove, and channel, were not always understood. Pupils in grade six knew more than those in grade four, indicating some growth. Fourth grade boys knew more terms than fourth grade girls. No significant sex differences were found for sixth grade pupils. Ellis concluded that elementary teachers of geography should not assume that their pupils understand phys-

ical terms even though they are commonly used in the text.

Boardman (11) compared the attitudes of a sample population of 130 viewers of a 59 lesson telecourse designed to combat economic illiteracy in Arkansas. A questionnaire was used to determine the viewers' attitudes toward instructional television, the economics telecourse, the tele-instructor, and supplementary application-type lessons. An information form revealed that the viewers of the economics sequence were similar to the adult enrollees in other open broadcast telecourses. The typical viewer was adult, female, and had some college background.

Economic understanding and attitudes were found to be related to the personal data of Alabama high school seniors in a study conducted by Alexander (2). The investigator used the *Test of Economic Understanding* to determine the economic understanding of a sample of rural, suburban, and urban Alabama youths. An opinionnaire and a personal information instrument were also used. From the many comparisons made, it was found that boys scored slightly higher than girls in economic understanding.

Hatfield (35) studied the relationships between certain learner characteristics and the learning of international-trade content. The learner characteristics studied were creativity, cognitive style, and self-concept. Learning was assessed by pre- and post-tests of content. The investigator concluded that the learner characteristics studied are related to learning and therefore should be considered as valid goals for education. He also found extensive differences between specific relationships by quartiles, suggesting the importance of individualizing instruction.

Mehlinger and Patrick (52) claimed that formative evaluation occurs when the developer seeks to discover whether the students learn what he wished them to learn. This requires clear statements of performance objectives coupled with instruments that are valid measures of the objectives. One of many problems a developer encounters is his inability to anticipate fully learner entry competence. Regardless of how careful the developer may be in his own sequencing of materials, he cannot overcome the lack of requisite preparation.

Rice and Findley (66) analyzed the role of evaluation in curriculum projects. They contend that methodological controls of randomization are of educationally less significance than the use of natural school populations. That is, pupil variables are of much more interest in curriculum research than methodological considerations, provided that the evi-

dence is collected in such a manner as to be reliable.

The eight studies reported above clearly indicate the fundamental significance of the learner both in the planning of instruction and evaluation. The following set of six studies is concerned with the intellectual ability of the learner and the relationship of this ability to learning in the social studies.

Lovetere (50) found that above average and average ability treatment groups showed significant positive changes in attitude on both a post-test and a re-test. His study was designed to test whether a specifically developed set of readings could be used for the study of government in the eighth grade.

Vakos (94) studied the effects on learning of part-time grouping of eleventh-grade Minneapolis district students. Each week, students were assigned to heterogeneous classes for two days, one large lecture section for one day, a high, average, or low ability group for two days. He found that ability levels were unrelated to test performance.

Kilman (41) sought to determine some correlates of pupil learning of map reading. Specifically prepared material dealing with the use of direction, map guides, legends, map scales, and drawing inferences from maps was taught to 99 male and 93 female fourth grade pupils by their regular teachers. A test of map reading skills was administered before and after the seven week instructional period. Intelligence and reading tests were also administered. The investigator found that verbal intelligence and reasoning were helpful in predicting achievement in map reading for the entire population.

Larkins and Shaver (44) summarized a series of well-conducted studies designed to determine the feasibility of Senesh's *Our Working World* for first grade pupils. The researchers found that both slow and bright children learned from the materials.

Kurfman (43) elaborated a model for evaluating curriculum materials. He found that the verbal aptitude of students is related to different student attitudes toward materials prepared by the High School Geography Project.

Baum (8) investigated the preferences of high and low achievers with respect to a teacher's method of evaluating students. He found that high achievers preferred open response evaluation with broad potential for student response, while low achievers preferred closed response evaluation with narrow potential for student response.

Three studies were concerned with conditions relating to political learning. Although Patrick (61) challenged the traditional view that formal instruc-

tion has important effects on political attitudes, knowledge, and participation, he indicated that active engagement in the quest for political knowledge would contribute importantly to students' political learnings.

Sanders (73) investigated the socio-political involvement of adolescents and factors related to this involvement. He employed a questionnaire to secure data concerning involvement and background information.

Struve (86) studied the relationship of social studies programs to political socialization. His study confirmed prior studies wherein non-school factors seemed to exert a much greater influence than school factors on the political behavior of students. However, the investigator suggested that discussion, observation, and participation can affect students' political awareness and sense of efficacy.

The three studies classified as dealing with the political socialization of students tend to confirm what prior research has supported. Nevertheless, the investigators in this area generally believe that a more active intellectual role by students could lead to increased political participation or involvement. Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that political socialization studies are emerging as an area of important interest in social studies research.

THE SOCIAL MILIEU CLUSTER

The social milieu cluster refers to the needs, demands, and conditions which social structures impose on their members. Viewed educationally, the social milieu cluster is represented by the demands social groups make on the schools. For the purpose of this review the social milieu cluster will refer to responses typically made, or likely to be made, by the schools, the teachers, and the students to non-school social groups which they contact. Of the 14 studies dealt with in the social milieu cluster, five will treat state or school district responses, two will discuss teacher responses, and seven will analyze student responses.

The five studies treating state and school district responses to external groups' demands differ greatly in the size of the educational units surveyed. Broyles (14) attempted to assess the influence of a variety of factors on Delaware social studies course guidelines. He noted that course guidelines were found to have been influenced by national committees, state curriculum publications, and state social studies supervisors.

Cotters (19) surveyed Maryland geography teachers for the 1964-65 school year in order to study many

aspects of geography education in the high schools. He made a variety of recommendations beginning with the appointment of a state supervisor of geography and including county geography supervisors.

Young (99) used in-depth case study techniques to assess the influence of NDEA Title III-B Projects on the social studies in six central California school districts. She concluded that the projects initiated curriculum change and resulted in the investment of additional local monies. Change was facilitated when knowledgeable and interested administrators assisted. The existence of centralized or de-centralized organizational patterns was not related to change.

Prehn (65) tried to assess the influence of the Joint Council on Economic Education on changes in the social studies curriculum in the New York City Schools. He reported that participation in the Joint Council's Developmental Economic Education Program helped to reorganize economics in the public schools of the city. Additionally, he stated that the New York City Council on Economic Education assisted in the reorganization of the economics program of the city's schools.

One investigator, Sesow (79), reported that governmental agencies appeared to have significant influence on planning the elementary social studies program in one school system. The local community, however, exerted little influence on the planning.

From the results of the five studies reported above, it can be concluded that external social units, particularly those linked with power or prestige, frequently influence the planning responses of school units.

Two studies related teacher response to external pressures or demands. Long (49) investigated social studies teachers as political socialization agents. He found a tendency for teachers to have authority orientations and to be sensitive to potential outside sanctions. Additionally, some teachers perceive the church as an important socialization agent. Long developed a conceptualization of political socialization determinants in the schools.

O'Leary (58) found that school personnel were more concerned about the teaching about communism than were non-school personnel. He also found differences of opinion between school personnel and non-school personnel on specific items about communism.

Seven studies related directly to varying kinds of student responses associated with external social groups. The scope of these groups ranged from perceptions of minority groups to perceptions of student peer groups.

Carmichael (15) attempted to develop and validate an instrument which would identify negative attitudes and opinions of individuals and groups in certain human relations areas, e.g., Negro, Indian, other minority groups, religious, socio-economic, education, judicial, and governmental. The Q-sort technique, selected as the basis for constructing the instrument, was tested and found not to discriminate between groups. It was concluded by the investigator that the validity of the instrument had not been established.

Sanders (73) employed a questionnaire to secure data on relevant background information and the socio-political involvement of adolescents. He found that the occupational level of family heads was related to the socio-political involvement of the young. Also, Struve (86) found that political activity by parents engenders increased political awareness and efficacy in students as do exposure to the mass media and involvement of students in the affairs of the community.

Ellis (23) administered questionnaires to a sample of eleventh grade students from two high schools in different socio-economic areas. The questionnaire items referred to school, peer, home, and religious in-

fluences. The study yielded no conclusive evidence that the investigated aspects of the peer culture affected the achievement of critical thinking. However, additional treatment of the data revealed that phenomena in the peer culture and the school situation were related to the teaching of critical thinking.

Bierbaum (10) investigated hypothesized relationships between children's knowledge of world affairs and socio-economic factors. In all, 362 Florida school children in grades one through six were sampled. Socio-economic factors were found to be related to world affairs.

Alexander (2) secured opinions and personal information from a sample of rural, suburban, and urban Alabama youth. It was found that urban and suburban students scored higher on a test of economic understanding than did rural students. Higher scores were also made by students from higher socio-economic groups. Also, Ellis (24) administered the *Test of Economic Understanding* to 1,000 seniors in 44 randomly selected schools. He concluded that students who enrolled in large schools knew more economics than students enrolled in small schools. He also judged the economic understanding of students to be inadequate for effective citizenship.

TRANSACTIONS

As previously described, this year's review utilizes a framework of three basic parts to encompass the total educational experience. The prior and following sections of this review deal primarily with antecedents and outcomes. The present section attempts to analyze and interpret the transactional part of that total experience. The emphasis is on the nature of the learning experience or the change-producing mechanisms of the studies. Typically, these mechanisms describe relationships among students, their teachers, and assemblages of educational materials and equipment. The way in which students are intended to interact with each other and their teacher, the prescribed implementation of a given technique, or the particular application of special materials or equipment are transactional aspects of research designs.

Forty-three studies have been classified as having significant transactional considerations. As Payette and Cox (62) have discussed elsewhere, antecedents, transactions, and outcomes are continuous and inter-related. For that reason, it has been neither wholly

possible nor desirable to isolate the three elements. Rather, the attempt was to classify, analyze, and, in some respects, assess the transactional data of these studies in light of their purposes and effects.

Several sub-classifications have been utilized in this section. Among these are such categories as level of the target population; the type of transaction; and the basic purpose of the study. Associated with each level, type, or purpose are other characteristics of studies, e.g., means of observation and effects. Wherever feasible in this review of transactions, these basic classifications and related characteristics will be utilized as a framework for description.

All of these studies were classified as claiming one or two major purposes. Over half of the studies were characterized as having a cognitive-contingency purpose. That is, the purpose for the research seemed to be to change some cognitive factor in the population. Eleven studies were classified as affective-contingency. Their major purpose appeared to be to change an attitude, usually, by means of some indirectly related

transactions. Another group of ten studies was classified as possessing a more direct purpose. They aimed to effect some learning by teaching it directly. Finally, seven studies were classified as descriptive-analytic. In such studies, the major purpose was taken to be the clear description of the transactional experiences themselves.

The studies were also classifiable according to means by which transactional data were observed or the effects of the transaction were assessed. Twenty-five of these studies were evaluated by criterion tests. Four researches utilized standardized instruments and 21 used tests developed specifically for the study or for materials used in the study. Eight studies employed analyses of live or recorded interaction protocols and two others used product analysis system to judge students' products. Three investigators distributed questionnaires to their populations and one employed an interview technique. The reports of nine studies left the means of collecting and assessing data unknown or in doubt.

COGNITIVE CONTINGENCY

The 23 studies reviewed below have as a common element the expected increment of some cognitive factor, such as achievement, comprehension, or thinking process by the application of a particular teaching strategy or methodology, the implementation of a curriculum or use of special materials, the reorganization of the classroom, or the teaching of a related skill.

Methods. The first grouping of ten studies emphasized a particular strategy, technique, or methodology of instruction. At the elementary level these strategies included individualized instruction, reading or listening, programmed instruction, and two varieties of concept development.

Breiter (13) compared the effects of listening to tape recordings and reading the same social studies material. Twenty-eight sixth grade classes were randomly assigned to either the reading or the listening groups and each class used the materials for ten one-hour periods. Neither reading nor listening as a technique of instruction facilitated a significant difference in the comprehension of sixth grade children. However, children of above average intelligence comprehended significantly more by reading than by listening, while average and below average children did not.

Noonan (57) utilized nine teachers in nine classrooms of sixth grade pupils to teach the commercial

program *Latitude and Climate* by one of three randomly assigned treatments. A third of the 192 pupils used programmatic materials without teacher assistance, a third used the materials with teacher assistance, and a third was taught traditionally. The criterion achievement test revealed no significant differences among the groups attributable to the method of instruction and no treatment proved to be more efficient in the time required to complete the unit of work. Differences by levels of ability were significant in all three treatment groups.

Schwab and Stern (77) varied the number of concept examples and the number of concepts taught to Head Start children. They found superior learning to be associated with the presentation of a few examples of small numbers of concepts.

At the junior high school level, Hasselriis (34) examined the effects of various combinations of reading and listening on students' ability to learn social studies material. Seventy-seven students in three classes used Abramowitz's *Study Lessons in Our Nation's History* for 30 days. In preparing for each lesson students read silently, read while listening to a tape recording of the reading, or listened to the tape recording only. Simultaneous reading and listening improved oral reading and comprehension. The students who only listened significantly improved their listening ability; however, those students also decreased in both oral reading and comprehension.

Rogus (71) compared interrogative and expository methods. The interrogative approach provided students with numerous opportunities for thinking. The expository method emphasized achievement. After ten weeks of study, Rogus found that there was no significant difference in the achievement of the two groups.

One cognitive contingency study was performed at the high school level. Linhardt (48) compared lecture and discussion methods of teaching psychology to high school seniors to determine their relative effectiveness in achievement. For the one semester course, approximately the same amount of psychological knowledge was achieved by both the lecture and the discussion groups.

Four studies in this classification dealt mainly with college students; three involved student teachers. Both Wayne (96) and Knight (42) assessed a cooperative elementary school-university program designed to prepare student teachers to foster critical thinking in pupils through questioning strategies. Critical thinking was defined as thinking which involved all thought processes beyond the recall category. Several

methods were used to observe questioning and critical behavior. Wayne and Knight concluded that the program did not increase the student teachers' critical thinking skills. They did find that student teachers could utilize questions designed to elicit critical thinking in actual teaching situations, that pupils could respond to such questions with critical thinking behaviors, and that cooperating teachers could observe such questions in a classroom discussion.

Elementary student teachers taught to use questions of varying cognitive levels were found to ask more higher cognitive questions in class and on examinations by Rodgers (69) and Rodgers and Davis (70). Student teachers participating in the experimental group were compared to student teachers receiving no special training. A special observation scale was used by live observers to assess student teachers' use of questions. No relationship between the cognitive level of teacher questions and pupil learning was found for the four-day unit observed.

Harder (33) subjected six student teachers in social studies to a series of supervisory sessions based on seven video-tape recordings of their teaching of American history lessons. Teacher behavior data utilized for supervision were collected from the tapes and subjective analysis of teacher effectiveness was made by video-tapes and classroom observation. Anecdotal records were kept by the supervisor and student teachers and pupil achievement and pupil attitudes toward the student teachers were assessed. All teachers became more indirect as a result of the video-tape supervision. Increases in Flanders' regular and revised I/D ratios were related to increased pupil achievement and improved attitude; but increased use of selected skills and interaction sequences was not related to increased pupil achievement, to attitude ratings, or to a better subjective rating of teacher effectiveness. The video-taped recordings were seen as too incomplete to be used for subjective analysis of teacher effectiveness. Harder questioned the ability of the video recorder to record completely and authentically teacher behavior and classroom environment.

Trotter (91) compared the effectiveness of two methods of teaching American government to sophomore students in junior college. The methods, textbook-lecture and problem-media-dialogue, produced no significant differences in achievement, but students receiving the problem-media-dialogue treatment had significantly more positive attitudes toward the course.

Special Materials. Seven of the cognitive contingency studies emphasized the implementation of an entire curriculum or course of study or the investment of certain materials as the independent variable in the research. Three studies were conducted at the elementary and junior high school levels. The one high school study investigated the social studies curriculum produced by the Carnegie-Mellon University Social Studies Curriculum Center.

In grades four, five, and six, Rich (67) utilized self-directing, self-correcting study guides in different sized groups in working with three sound films, three filmstrips, and three dramatic historical recordings. Differences in the effectiveness of the media favored films over filmstrips and filmstrips over recordings.

Alleman (3) incorporated primary source materials into a fifth grade social studies program to determine whether the use of primary source material affected learning. Alleman studied 26 fifth grade classes equally divided into experimental and control groups. Teacher responses indicated that the primary source materials had value for students, primarily as supplementary materials. Student responses indicated a favorable reaction toward the use of primary source materials. However, tests showed no significant differences in achievement between the experimental and control groups.

Hunkins (38) investigated whether a dominant use of analysis and evaluation questions in social studies text-like materials would improve sixth graders' social studies achievement. He found that the use of analysis and evaluation questions produced better student performance in the area of evaluation than did the use of knowledge questions.

Perryman (64) enlisted a number of volunteer junior high social studies teachers in two schools to use specially collected materials in teaching 20 controversial issues over a three-year period. Modest and volunteer in-service training was provided for some of the teachers. A majority of the teachers stayed through the experiment. Samples of student thinking collected over three years failed to reveal meaningful changes in pupil ability to weigh arguments. Evaluative measures used in the study failed to produce significant differences between experimental and control groups. Perryman concluded that significant change in classroom experiences is unobtainable without inducements to enlist teachers in in-service training, funds to produce readable materials, and tests to provide immediate feedback to teachers and pupils.

Lovetere (50) tested whether a specially developed

set of readings could be used for the study of government in the eighth grade. He established that the use of the special set of readings was related to significant gains on achievement tests. The above average and average ability treatment groups also showed significant positive changes in attitude.

Wise (98) wrote materials concerning Pennsylvania history and government suitable for slow, ninth grade learners. She found significant advantages for the slow-learning groups using the materials when compared with slow-learning groups which used the materials for a shorter period of time or which did not use the materials.

Good, Farley, and Fenton (29) compared an experimental group of 112 academically able high school juniors who had taken three years of the experimental social studies curriculum designed by the Social Studies Curriculum Center of Carnegie-Mellon University with 78 like students who had taken the normal social studies course. With I.Q. held constant, students who had taken the experimental work which emphasized inquiry operations showed greater mastery of certain social studies inquiry skills than students in the normal curriculum.

Classroom Organization. Four studies of the cognitive contingency groups used changes in classroom organization as a major transaction factor of the research. These studies emphasized individual and group work at the elementary and junior high levels.

Rich (67) measured the effect of study group size on retention of social studies material by 457 pupils of similar cultural and economic backgrounds in grades four, five, and six. During a three week period, all students received mass presentations of social studies information and worked in their classrooms on self-directing, self-correcting study guides in groups of one, three, and five. Group size had no significant effect on retention, though slight differences favoring children working alone were found for each grade and the total group. Differences in learning between grades favored the higher grade.

Monroe (53) created an individualized social studies program to effect a change in achievement and in certain social behaviors of 33 pupils in a fifth grade, self-contained classroom. After four and one-half months of the program, Monroe found significant changes in the specified behaviors and in achievement. No significant relationships were found between the behaviors and achievement, intelligence, or class structure.

Hallquist (32) examined the relationship of back-

ground music appropriate to topics under study and the teaching of geography at the sixth grade level by a discussion method and by a committee method. His findings indicated mixed effects.

Sinks (83) changed the educational environment of eighth grade pupils engaged in individualized instruction in four subject areas including social studies. The 108 subject pupils were matched on the *Academic Promise Test*. They were assigned to four homerooms. The individualized curricula in the four subjects produced desirable changes in behavior, increased gains in achievement, attitude, and learning strategies as observed through questionnaires, surveys, and critiques given to students, parents, teachers, and observers.

Learning a Related Skill. The last of the cognitive contingency studies attempted to relate the learning of a skill to increased achievement of a broader nature or in another area. In the two studies that follow, skill in reading is related to achievement in social studies content.

Zappo (101) hypothesized that teaching of reading skills along with content would improve social studies achievement. Statistically matched groups of seventh grade students were compared in achievement after instruction in reading. He found that instruction in reading was related to greater gains in achievement of social studies content material.

Frederick (27) designed and taught to 111 ninth grade students in six classes a four-week unit on scarcity. Three experimental classes were given vocabulary training prior to each lesson and three control classes received a similar treatment following each lesson in an effort to determine the effectiveness of readiness activities on the learning and retention of concepts. The experimental group did not demonstrate more change than the control group. The readiness activities had no more effect on learning or retention of concepts than the same treatment after the lesson.

AFFECTIVE CONTINGENCY

The second major grouping of studies was judged to possess as a common element the expectation of changing an attitude by special methodology, materials, or classroom organization. Other types of transactions could conceivably be employed to function affectively, but only the three types are represented in the 11 studies included in this section. Considerable overlap is present between this contingency group

and the cognitive contingency group inasmuch as educational research often claims both cognitive and affective dimensions.

Special Methodology. Seven of these studies, ranging from elementary through college, purport to demonstrate a relationship between an instructional technique and some affective outcome. Monroe (53), for example, used an individualized social studies program over a period of four and one-half months to change certain social behaviors of 33 pupils in a self-contained fifth grade.

Nepi (55) conducted a study involving approximately 600 fifth and sixth grade students to determine the attitudinal effects of alternative ways of teaching a unit on the Bill of Rights. She found that the students exposed to the case study unit showed a greater number of changes in attitudes towards rights and responsibilities of American citizens than the students exposed to the traditional unit. Additionally, a majority of the teachers and students participating in the case study unit indicated that students were more tolerant of differences and were more willing to listen to others during the conduct of the unit. She also reported that teachers and students of the experimental group reacted favorably toward the case study method as an effective teaching technique.

Peri (63) studied the effects of a selected film on the attitudes of junior high school students toward due process of law. He also evaluated the relative effectiveness of several instructional procedures to enhance the influence of motion pictures designed to change attitudes. The procedures employed were a single showing of a film, two consecutive showings, a programmed booklet of related instruction following the film, and no instruction. An analysis of concepts showed that procedure differences were significant for negative but not positive concepts. An attitudinal inventory also revealed significant differences among the five procedures employed.

Linhardt (48) compared lecture and discussion methods of teaching psychology to high school seniors to determine their relative effectiveness in personal and social attitudes. The psychology course was taught for one semester and several instruments were utilized to assess attitudes. He found the discussion method no more effective in modifying attitudes than the lecture method.

Bouchard (12) assessed the effect of teachers' use of a value model on the attitudes of pupils. He identified shifts in attitude toward problems of pollution on the part of students exposed to the value model.

Harder (33) employed Flanders' interaction analysis system in a series of supervisory sessions with six student teachers. As they became more indirect in their teaching, the student teachers were viewed more positively by their pupils.

Sims (82) compared attitudinal differences between one group of students taught introductory college geography by closed-circuit television and a second group of students taught by a classroom-discussion method. His results showed no significant difference in attitudes between the two groups. He concluded that the closed-circuit television method of teaching was as effective as the classroom-discussion method for developing favorable student attitudes in introductory college geography.

Special Materials. The effect of special materials on attitudes was an element in three studies. One such study conducted by Cook (18) 30 years ago but reported this year found that the addition of film to teachers' usual motivational procedures did not positively affect motivation to learn. Nonfilm control pupils proposed more outside activities that teachers considered educationally valuable.

De Kock (21) utilized Krathwohl's levels of affective learning as an approach to changing the attitudes of students. He reduced the amount of sheer attending behavior typically imposed on students and subsequently increased their responding, valuing, organizing, and characterizing behaviors. This change was achieved by using "Sunshine," an educational simulation of current racial problems in a typical American city. The use of the game also produced increases in racial tolerance and corresponding decreases in social intolerance.

Lovetere (50) found that a specially developed set of readings used for the study of government in the eighth grade produced positive changes in attitude in the above average and average ability groups in his research population.

Classroom Organization. In a study emphasizing the restructuring of the classroom as the independent variable, Sinks (83) found that individualized instruction in social studies and three other subjects produced desirable changes in behavior and attitude.

DIRECT PURPOSE

A group of 11 studies is classified as possessing direct purpose. That is, the transaction embodies or reflects closely the intended outcome of the study. The following direct purpose transactions are further clas-

sified by type, i.e., emphasizing a teaching strategy, special materials, a skill, a specified substantive content, or a general experience.

Teaching Methodology. The first group of four studies emphasizes some teaching methodology in the transactional experience at the elementary, senior high school, college, and professional levels.

The belief that primary children learn symbolic map skills best through manipulative procedures was questioned by Savage and Bacon (75). One group of randomly assigned first grade pupils was taught symbolic map skills through Sabaroff's six step procedure which stresses manipulative activities in the first three steps. A second and comparable group was taught through more abstract procedures. No significant differences between treatment groups were found, though the trend favored the manipulative treatment. The investigators concluded that "first grade children do have the skill and sophistication to begin on a more abstract level than had been previously assumed."

Scovel (78) divided into two homogeneous groups 31 American history classes of 12 teachers in eight Iowa high schools to examine the possibility of improving student question-asking behavior. The experimental group received instruction on constructing and classifying questions according to Bloom's cognitive taxonomy. Following treatment, all students wrote questions concerning the historical material studied during the treatment period. A panel of five teachers classified the 44,512 questions according to the investigator's schema. After treatment, the experimental group increased the number of higher category questions and decreased the number of summary questions asked.

Limbacher (46) found that microteaching training received by social studies methods students prior to student teaching resulted in significantly higher ratings by their pupils in the field. The 25 social studies student teachers who received the experimental treatment received significantly higher pupil evaluations than did the 25 student teachers who received no microteaching training. Cooperating teacher evaluations of student teachers were not affected by the training. Analysis of Flanders' data of videotaped lessons taken at the beginning and near the end of student teaching indicated the control group obtained higher indirect-direct ratios.

Short (81) separated 34 junior high school teachers into direct and indirect categories. Various feedback treatments utilizing Flanders' data derived from 11

observations over a year's time were given to the groups. Type of feedback given the teachers was unrelated to differences in verbal behavior across groups, but the use of feedback in the form of receiving copies of matrices and having them interpreted orally produced a difference between direct and indirect teachers.

Special Materials. Two studies classified as direct purpose transactions emphasized the use of special materials. Larkins and Shaver (44) summarized a series of well-conducted studies designed to determine feasibility of Senesh's *Our Working World* for first grade pupils. An equal number of uninstructed and instructed intact classes of first grade pupils were randomly selected. The data were classified by teachers' experience and training with the materials and by intellectual ability of pupils. The investigators concluded that instructed pupils knew more economic concepts, that no concept was systematically unlearned, and that both slow and bright children learned from the materials. Teacher experience with the materials was not significantly related to pupil success.

Kilman (41) used specially prepared material dealing with use of direction, map guides, legends, map scales, and drawing inferences from maps to teach map reading to fourth grade pupils. The materials were taught to 99 male and 92 female pupils by their regular teachers for a seven-week period with results that correlated with vocabulary, reasoning ability, and pretest data.

Other Direct Purpose Studies. Another direct purpose study also emphasized map reading with the main transactional content being identified as the specific skills themselves. Fischer (25) devised a special test to determine achievement in the higher level map skills of seeing relationships and drawing inferences. The study included 168 sixth grade students who received slightly more than 25 hours of instruction in map reading. He found that chronological age was negatively related to the ability to read and interpret maps. He also found that the best single predictor of achievement in map skills was a map pretest.

Sociological content was the specified transactional element in a study by Frasier (26). He instructed the teachers of two classes of fourth, fifth, and sixth grade pupils in Talcott Parson's construct of functional imperatives which they, in turn, taught to their 42 pupils in eight lessons. Prior to the lessons,

the pupils were interviewed to ascertain their experiences in and their understanding of organizations. The pupils were asked how they would inquire into four social situations each structured by one of Parson's four functions in the pre-interview and in a post-interview following the lessons. The interviews were tape recorded. Student answers were analyzed according to Henderson's taxonomy of logical-linguistic form and Piaget's "styles of categorization." As a result of the treatment, significant increases were noted in the number of students making general rather than singular responses, in the number of correct inferences made, and in the ability to suggest explanations. Frasier concluded that a sociological construct offers students a basis for inquiry, though background experience predicts the conceptual level of the response.

A final study in the category of direct purpose refers to general experiences as the formative transaction. It warrants classification here under the assumption that social concepts are both the content and the result of college interaction. Venable (95) attempted to determine the accretion of learning in the understanding of social concepts resulting from attendance in certain junior colleges. His results, derived from standardized test data, indicated accretion of learning during the two years of junior college instruction. It was concluded, however, that the performance of the college population was not superior.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTIC

Seven studies were classified transactionally as being partially or wholly descriptive or analytic. The purpose of such a study is not to produce a particular predicted outcome, but to define more clearly or operationally the nature of the transaction itself. Some kind of analysis is usually entailed inasmuch as factors, correlates, categories, patterns, and the like are ordinarily identified in such studies. The first four of these studies deal with teaching or classroom verbal interaction.

Ahlbrand (1) examined the subject matter question-answer cycle in fourth, fifth, and sixth grade social studies classes by tape recording nine classes for five days each. Typescripts of the sessions were analyzed to ascertain whether teachers' questions called for fact recall only or for more involved thinking. An observer also noted the volunteer status of the students who answered. Each pupil's participation was calculated by total response and the number of factual and more involved questions to which he volun-

tarily responded. Boys were the more active participants in the classroom. Also, pupil perception of teacher consideration of responses was significantly related to participation.

Godbold (18) investigated the frequency and cognitive level of teacher classroom questions of experienced and inexperienced elementary and secondary teachers. Sanders' system was used to determine the cognitive level of questions. Elementary teachers asked more questions than secondary teachers; and experienced secondary teachers asked more questions than inexperienced secondary teachers. At least half of all questions by all groups involved memory. He concluded a need to teach questioning to pre-service teachers.

Anderson (4) investigated the relationship between teaching strategies and two logically different concepts. Ten secondary sociology teachers were selected to teach *material culture trait* and *acculturation*, two concepts differing in denotative and connotative aspects and the degree of "point-at-ability." Anderson found that teaching strategies differed for the two concepts. A series of three exemplification moves was the dominant strategy for material culture trait and a series of three moves alternating between exemplification and characterization was the most employed strategy for acculturation. Few other verbal moves were used in either task.

Rosenshine (73) investigated teaching behaviors which discriminated between successful and unsuccessful explanation of social studies material. Effectiveness of explanation was determined by a student group's adjusted mean score on a common ten-item test of comprehension of ideas dealt with in the explanation. He found three categories of variables, which differentiated between high-scoring and low-scoring lectures. The teachers whose lectures were related to higher test scores utilized explaining links, connectives indicating causes, results, means, or purposes of events, more frequently. These teachers also employed a rule-example-rule pattern of discourse more frequently than other teachers and were more likely to move about the classroom and use gestures in their teaching.

Both Kilman's (41) and Fischer's (25) studies attempted to analyze factors related to map reading. Both researchers found pretest scores to be good predictors of achievement in map reading skills. Fischer found age within one grade span negatively related and Kilman found verbal intelligence and reasoning positively related to map reading ability.

The final study in this section purports to de-

scribe the general practice of a population of elementary teachers in relation to criteria. Saunders (74) surveyed 216 elementary teachers to determine the extent to which their practices in teaching social studies parallel those recommended by the authorities in the field. Less than half the teachers had completed a social studies methods course since 1960 and only about one-fourth had in-service training in that time.

Half of the teachers defined social studies in the same terms as the authorities; but half also used district courses of study and basic textbooks as the basis for organizing scope and sequence. Over half used various audio-visual and other materials, but few used educational television. Evaluation techniques were limited in number and fewer than half used grouping procedures.

OUTCOMES

Of necessity outcomes from specific studies were indicated in the two preceding sections. An attempt will be made in this last section of the review to cluster outcomes from specific studies as they related to issues of interest. A number of such issues were raised by Patrick whose work will serve as a vehicle for reconsidering the outcomes of studies treated elsewhere in this article.

Patrick (61) reviewed a number of research reports for the purpose of determining the effect of school instruction on political socialization. He concluded that after grade-school additional instruction resulted in almost imperceptible changes in knowledge, attitudes, or skills associated with political sophistication. Relationships between socioeconomic status and the goals of political instruction were apparent. Negroes benefitted from additional instruction, but not enough to overcome advantages of generally better-instructed Caucasians. Homogeneous populations of working class children apparently receive significantly more instruction in conforming behaviors than in inquiry behaviors. The more cosmopolitan students were found to be more tolerant of non-conformists, more politically sophisticated, to be better informed, and to have a higher sense of political efficacy. He notes that little or no notice is taken of the adolescents' increased ability to deal with concepts.

Patrick admits that he "raises many questions and provides few firm answers" (p. 20), but he does make some tentative proposals. He proposed sweeping curriculum revisions in favor of courses that stress concepts and intellectual tools derived from the social sciences. He particularly stressed the importance of concepts which he saw as determining the perceptual field of the individual. After noting the effect of widespread knowledge of natural science on superstitions, he pleads for an equally scientific approach to

social knowledge and social problems; in short, an inquiry approach.

Patrick's findings and recommendations are so sweeping that it was decided to structure the Outcomes section of this review to consider the issues he raises to the extent allowed by the studies collected.

Supportive of Patrick's conclusion regarding the ineffectiveness of political instruction were the findings of Struve (86) and Alexander (2). Struve found that political activity of parents, use of magazines and television, and especially involvement of students in extracurricular activities and community affairs increased high school students' political awareness and efficacy. Existing social studies programs were seen as reinforcing generally apathetic interest patterns learned at home rather than as stimulating changes in political behavior. Economic understanding of Alabama high school seniors was found by Alexander to be related to socioeconomic class, residential classification, and sex. Pupils from high socioeconomic groups and urban or suburban areas produced higher scores on the *Test of Economic Understanding*; boys tended to outperform girls. Taken together these studies suggest that life style of the home and other factors related to social status are at least as important as formal instructions in political and economic subjects. Further support for this conclusion came from Venable (95) who compared youth in and out of junior colleges and found no significant differences in understanding of social concepts using standardized test data.

One cannot refute Patrick's basic criticism of social studies instructions with these data. By way of remedy, Patrick suggested increased stress on higher cognitive processes, especially concept formation and inquiry processes.

HIGHER COGNITIVE PROCESSES

A number of studies were judged to deal with higher cognitive processes as suggested by Patrick. The outcomes of these studies can be divided into three subgroups: critical thinking, questioning, and concept formation.

Critical Thinking. One cannot conclude that critical thinking can be taught by reviewing the outcomes of the studies included in this year's review. Good, Farley, and Fenton (29) using the Carnegie-Mellon materials for three years reported increases in critical thinking. Frazier (26) also succeeded in fostering inquiry. He used Parson's construct of "functional imperatives." Wayne (96) and Knight (42) reported studies that did not succeed as did Fischer (25) and Perryman (64).

Subject age did not appear to be a factor. While Frasier worked with intermediate grade children, Good, Farley, and Fenton worked with eleventh graders. Wayne and Knight reported no success in teaching elementary student teachers, but did report that elementary pupils responded with critical thinking behavior when asked higher cognitive questions. Perryman's attempt to foster critical thinking in junior high school pupils through the use of special readings failed and Fischer reported a negative correlation between seeing map relationships and drawing inferences and age of sixth grade pupils. From these data one must conclude that age is not the sole determinant of critical thinking.

Ability did appear to be related, however. Good, Farley, and Fenton reported that their criterion instrument was highly sensitive to I.Q. and Fischer found that the best predictor of success in learning high order map skills was pretest performance.

Questioning. By way of contrast with the above studies, a number of investigators were successful in teaching the use of higher order questions. Scovel (78) reported that students taught Bloom's *Taxonomy* wrote more higher order questions concerning a given body of historical material than an uninstructed group. Hunkins (38) found that the use of evaluative and analytical questions in text-like materials produced better test performance than knowledge questions embedded in similar material. Rodgers (69) and Rodgers and Davis (70) did not find a relationship between the cognitive level of student teacher questions and pupil learning, but they did report success in teaching student teachers to ask more higher order questions. Ahlbrand (1) reported

a relationship between pupils' perceptions of teachers' considerations of their responses and the number of questions responded to by pupils.

Again, age does not appear to be a factor. Ahlbrand and Hunkins worked with sixth grade pupils, Rodgers with elementary pupils, and Scovel with high school pupils. Ahlbrand's finding does suggest the power of teacher attention as a pupil's reward.

Concept Learning. Some successful attempts were reported in teaching concepts. Larkins and Shaver (44) reported significant contrasts in concept knowledge between first graders instructed with Senesh's *Our Working World* materials and an uninstructed group. Savage and Bacon (75) compared manipulative and abstract approaches in the teaching of map symbols and found them equally successful. Schwab and Stern (77) manipulated the number of concepts taught with a few illustrations used. They found a small number of concepts taught with a few illustrations best for a population of Head Start children. Peri (63) found more success in teaching negative instances of concepts related to due process of law than to positive instances. He used various combinations of film presentations and programmed learning. Frederick (27) did not find a relationship between a vocabulary readiness program and concept learning of ninth graders.

Higher cognitive processes have long been a central goal of the social studies. Patrick's call for greater stress on critical thinking and concept learning is only a recent restatement of a long cherished goal. Despite its persistence as a goal of the social studies, the findings of these studies suggest a need for a great deal of additional research concerning teaching for higher cognitive processes. One observation does seem warranted. Those investigators who sought a broad goal of critical thinking found very mixed results. The investigators who focused on more specific topics, such as questioning or concept development, were generally more successful. Apparently a great deal of systematic work with the elements of critical thinking is in order.

INSTRUCTIONAL PROCEDURES

A number of studies were not directly related to the issues raised by Patrick. These deal with methodological and procedural questions. Such specifics as use of media or specific procedures, and procedures for improving achievement or attitudes are considered. Collectively, these studies can be thought of as

attempts to improve procedures found generally wanting by Patrick. For convenience, a number of subclassifications have been used. These are not necessarily discrete.

Methods—Achievement. A number of studies sought to determine the efficacy of specific methods in terms of learner achievement. For example, Linhardt (48) compared the effectiveness of lecture and discussion procedures for improving twelfth grade achievement. He found neither method superior. Similar results were found by Trotter (91) who compared a problem-media-dialogue procedure to a text-lecture procedure.

Others were more successful, however. Zappo (101) found improved achievement associated with special instruction in reading; Lovetere (50) succeeded with a special set of readings; and Sinks (83) managed to improve learner achievement with individualized instruction by homeroom location. Monroe (53) could not link achievement with fifth grade behavior changes resulting from individualized instruction. Neither intelligence nor social class was related to the behavior changes observed.

Methods—Attitudes. Attitude shifts were sought in a variety of ways and experienced mixed results. Nepi (55) reported success in changing fifth and sixth graders' attitudes towards rights and responsibilities of American citizens through the use of case materials. Using pupil "tolerance" scores as an index, De Kock (21) reported success in shifting pupil attitudes with regard to race through a simulation known as "Sunshine." Bouchard (12) obtained positive shifts in attitudes toward a value object through the use of a value analysis model. Lovetere (50) also reported attitudinal changes through the use of a set of special readings concerning government.

Less successful were Sims (82) and Linhardt (48). Sims compared groups taught traditionally and by television and found no differences in attitudes toward the course. Linhardt compared groups taught by lecture and discussion methods with the same results.

Materials and Media. A number of studies involved media or materials in some fashion. Special materials were employed by Wise (98) to teach Pennsylvania history to slow ninth graders, by Lovetere (50) to teach eighth grade government, by Alleman (3) to teach fifth grade social studies, and by Nepi (55) to teach fifth and sixth graders. As reported by the investigators, the materials were well received. In addition, Lovetere and Wise reported gains. Ap-

parently the use of tailor-made materials is well received by learners, appreciated by teachers, and often results in goal acquisition.

Three studies illustrate the hazards of comparing two broad approaches to instruction. Sims (82) compared traditional and television teaching, Breiter (13) compared reading and listening to an audio tape recording, and Trotter (91) compared a problem-media-dialogue approach to a text-lecture approach. All found no significant differences in main effects between groups. Taken with Linhardt's (48) findings, these results suggested the importance of establishing refined goals for research.

Hasselriis (34) was more successful with media. He found improvements in comprehension and oral reading with secondary pupils who simultaneously read and listened to a tape recording. These effects were more apparent for slow learners. Results favoring films over filmstrips and filmstrips over recordings were found by Rich (67). Hallquist (32) obtained mixed results on post- and delayed post-tests for groups working in the presence of background music.

TEACHER EDUCATION

Four studies were judged to deal primarily with teacher education. Three of them, Harder (33), Limbacher (45), and Short (81), involved Flanders' interaction analysis. Harder found a relationship between high indirect-direct ratios and pupil learning while Short found no relationship between the same general factors. Limbacher found that students trained in interaction analysis had higher I/D ratios than a similar group of teachers who received microteaching training.

Interestingly, student teachers prepared by microteaching were more favorably viewed by their pupils than the Flanders' group. The object of microteaching is the development of professional skill which suggests another contradiction. Harder found no relationship between the increased use of selected skills and the attitude ratings of pupil or pupil achievement. Harder questioned the ability of video recordings to obtain completely authentic records of teacher and classroom behavior, a technique that Limbacher found satisfactory.

The fourth study was conducted by O'Neill (59) who trained four Master of Arts in Teaching candidates to teach for critical thinking. In the study he contrived a behavioral model of critical thinking, designed an instrument for quantifying these observed behaviors, and produced a variety of materials relating to teaching for critical thinking.

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RESEARCH REVIEW TWO

The following article, pages 47 through 57, was originally published as John E. Sundeen and J.R. Skretting, *Social Studies Education*, in Robert L. Ebel, editor, *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, Fourth Edition, New York: American Educational Research Association/The Macmillan Company, 1969, 1231-1241. It is reproduced with permission of the authors and publishers.

SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

This article seeks to report significant and exemplary research done within the past ten years on the teaching of social studies at the elementary (K-8) and secondary (7-14) levels of American education. Concerned with a study of man and his relationship to his social and physical world, social studies adapts the content and methods of the various social sciences, either in terms of a particular discipline or through a cross-disciplinary approach, often enriched by ideas from the humanities and the natural sciences.

Because of space limitations, research from general areas such as evaluation and individual differences is not reported here unless it has been specifically conducted in a social studies setting. Attention to citizenship is restricted, since there is a separate entry for it elsewhere. The authors believe that this article should report research in the total field, even though some of the studies may not be in the most crucially needed areas.

HISTORY OF THE FIELD. The history of social studies education in the United States can be divided chronologically into five periods. The first period—the period up to 1893—covers the emergence of history as the social studies curriculum, with some inclusion of geography and civil government. The second period, from 1893 to 1916, involves the maturation of history as the social studies curriculum under the leadership of important national committees, with peripheral concern for civil government and some physical geography, economics, and sociology. It was during the third period, roughly from 1916 to 1938, that genuine "social studies" came into being, challenging the stranglehold of history and witnessing the inclusion of content from the disciplines of political science, economics, human geography, and sociology as separate or cross-disciplinary subjects. The scientific approach to education, more attention to individual differences, new developments in educational psychology, and concern for the needs of the student encouraged a new and experimental social studies.

The fourth period, encompassing approximately 1936 to 1955, was a period of reaction domestically and internationally to economic and political upheavals, resulting in critical attacks on national committee leadership and social studies programs that had not met the challenge. The call arose for locally determined (and nationally chaotic) curricula, stressing societal needs, citizenship education, and individual adjustment.

The fifth period, from 1955 to 1967, provided a return to many of the advances of the third period, coupled with greater attention to the structure of the social science disciplines. The transition year between complacency and action in social studies education would seem to be 1963. Essentially, the current period takes advantage of technological growth and is attempting to unite concerns of the

student, society, and the social sciences in order to produce individuals who, knowing the working methods of the social scientists, will apply inquiry to new problems, make decisions in the light of internalized value complexes, and effectively carry on a changing society of free men.

By 1967 the social studies field has arrived at a point where analytical, scientific methods of inquiry are in vogue on both the elementary and the secondary levels, but whether the content is to be organized along the lines of separate disciplines or with a cross-disciplinary approach seems a moot question. Sound research is needed in this area; perhaps major breakthroughs will result from the some 90 social studies projects cited by Hill and others (1967). Fraser (1965), in appraising current trends in these projects, heavily concerned with materials, points out that although the major efforts are beamed toward the able student and are concerned primarily with the cognitive as opposed to the affective domain, discernible and challenging foci are emerging in conceptual frameworks, sequencing of topics, readiness, the behavioral sciences, depth studies, a comprehensive world view, societal problems, and inquiry amid a climate of experimentation and innovation.

OBJECTIVES. There has been little research done concerning social studies education objectives, although many viewpoints have been expressed. Research by Engle (1964b) presents the best description of the dichotomy that exists between those concerned with designing measurable objectives based on the social sciences and those concerned with designing objectives related to the moral purposes and problems in effective citizenship. A similar dichotomy was resolved by those concerned with the National Assessment of American Education program through the expedient of forming two groups of objectives: one for social studies education and one for citizenship. Indeed, in this volume separate entries exist in the two fields. This may be the sound way to resolve the question of whether social studies education should be discipline- or citizenship-oriented. The answer emerging may well be that it has both content objectives and citizenship goals, as do the community, the school as a whole, and virtually all the separate subject areas.

The results of investigations by Bloom and Krathwohl (1956) into the cognitive domain and by Krathwohl and others (1964) into the affective domain have provided basic general taxonomies of educational objectives which leaders in social studies education have used in developing objectives that can be implemented and evaluated. Among others, Jarolinek (1962) on the elementary level has turned to the cognitive domain, and Fenton (1966) on the secondary level has studied both the cognitive and affective domains. Research still has not provided clear guidelines into which type of content is best used in the cognitive domain: (1) concepts, generalizations, and methodology related to the structure of the social science disciplines or (2) the more

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vital, but perhaps transient, public-issues approach.

Kurzman (1967) presents one set of overall objectives derived from the National Assessment program's five categories: (1) using analytical, scientific procedures; (2) possessing knowledge relative to major ideas and concerns of social scientists; (3) commitment to the values that sustain a free society; (4) curiosity about human affairs; and (5) sensitivity to creative-intuitive methods of explaining the human condition. The third category tends more toward indoctrination than is suggested by the affective-domain taxonomy, but the above categories might serve as the basis for a possible set of objectives that integrates current concerns without opening the floodgates to broad citizenship generalities, including adjustment to the *status quo*.

SOURCES OF CONTENT. Alternatives for selection of content range from the use of individual disciplines through utilization of concepts from all the social sciences as espoused by Price and others (1985), who identified 18 substantive concepts, 5 value concepts, and 11 aspects of method. A new source or determinant of content is inquiry methodology rather than content itself; certainly, with the expansion of knowledge and with change rapidly becoming the basic constant, this may be one answer.

History. History once held almost complete sway over the social science curriculum. The two major challenges to this tradition are (1) the encroachment upon its time allotment by other social sciences and (2) the use of "postholing" techniques in the remaining time. These would change the "tapestry" approach to either a sampling approach or an area-studies or cultural-concept presentation, which may be more social-science- than history-oriented.

Courses in United States history, perhaps because they are valuable in instilling patriotism and an appreciation of our way of life and because the subject encompasses a shorter and more manageable time span, have not fallen prey to the above challenges in the same degree. Weaver (1962) attempted to identify key generalizations to be stressed in the elementary grades and validated 104 out of an original 1400 which placed stress on a broad understanding of American history, emphasizing social history and the period through the eighteenth century, except for the emergence of the United States as a world power. Devitt (1958) applied the same technique on the secondary level and validated 61 of the original 938 concepts covering the full gamut of United States history. Only about 5 of the 90 current social studies projects listed by Hill and others (1967) center on United States history, with a definite stress on materials.

The teaching of world history has been the object of more creative research in new efforts to upset the *status quo* and to attack head-on the problems resulting from time-allotment cuts in traditional ancient, medieval, and modern history. Massialas (1981) compared a reflectively oriented approach and the traditional narrative-factual approach. He found no significant difference between the two approaches in

standardized-content test results and concluded that such tests are not designed to measure adequately the skills of critical thinking, since results from more sophisticated evaluation techniques indicated that the former method produced a significantly higher sensitivity to skills of critical thinking and reflective inquiry; growth in independent thought, and ability to discuss controversial issues in a more systematic fashion. Some 14 projects related to the teaching of world history are currently being conducted, the majority of which are concerned with cultural history and non-Western areas. Engle (1964a) reported significant attention to content, including the teaching of intellectual history and consideration of cultural regions beyond the scope of Western civilization.

Geography. Another traditional bulwark of the social studies curriculum has, one would judge from an examination of recent research, been undergoing critical review similar to that of world history. Centered on the West and long taught factually by public school teachers, the subject of geography is caught between a rising realization of its importance by leaders and the poor preparation of those who are teaching it.

Anderson (1963), after reviewing the history of secondary school geography teaching in the twentieth century, surveyed cities over 10,000 in the North Central region to ascertain current status and trends. He reported that as geography evolved from a descriptive to a physical to a social study it did not attain its rightful place because it did not possess an organizing or unifying concept or a unique body of social content. As an interpretive subject, geography has served too frequently as a basis for the study of other subjects. Mayo (1964) found that, when geography is taught as a separate subject in the secondary school, it is usually global geography; when it is taught with an integrated approach, the stress is usually economic.

At present there are some five social studies projects underway (Hill & others, 1967) concerned with specific aspects of the significant general problem, plus two research efforts centering on conservation. Only the High School Geography Project and the Crabtree Project seem to be looking at the problem with the fresh thought necessary. Helburn (1968) has reported on the former project's experimentation with a topical program involving conceptual objectives, the discovery-learning approach, and a stress on problem solving. Crabtree (1966), identifying area association as the core concept of geographic theory, indicates how sequential learning can be developed in grades 1, 2, and 3, through use of inquiry strategies and appropriate instructional materials. Hanna and others (1966) have provided some additional specific guidelines in their organized presentation of significant concepts and skills relating geography to the newer instructional approaches in elementary and junior high schools. However, unless a great deal more research is activated in this field, geography may continue to flounder.

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Economics. Probably no social science discipline has received more attention, financial aid, or organized effort toward furthering its development in the last twenty years than has economics. That such attention continues is attested in nine social studies projects currently devoted to this concern. Perhaps no other subject in social studies education, save United States history, has within the past decade come so close to arriving at a nationally agreed upon body of content. This accord is due in the main to the efforts of the Joint Council on Economic Education and the Council for the Advancement of Secondary Education, as well as to the publication by the Committee for Economic Development (1961) of the volume *Economic Education in the Schools: A Report of the National Task Force on Economic Education*. In this report the American Economic Association spelled out in seven major areas the basic economic concepts essential for a high school graduate to know something about. This does not imply national consensus on method, grade placement, or even whether the content be placed in separate courses or integrated with other content in basic social studies offerings.

Surveys on the status of economic instruction in the schools are abundant. Perhaps the most comprehensive is that described by G. Jones (1965), wherein all secondary schools, public and private, enrolling over 300 students were surveyed. The 69.8 percent that responded enrolled 20 percent of their seniors in separate economics courses or, including courses below the senior level, 6.1 percent of all students in grades 9 through 12. This shows an increase over the 4.7 percent USOE figure of 1948-49. It is interesting to note that 82.4 percent of the teachers of separate economics courses had taken two or more college courses in economics.

One area receiving greater attention in the literature is instruction related to economic concepts in the elementary school. Robinson (1983) revealed what can be done in kindergarten, and in describing the Elkart Project (grades 1-12), Senesh (1960) indicated the need for an organic curriculum beginning in the first grade.

Lovenstein and others (1966) have researched a course for grade 9, and Sperling and Wiggins (1966) developed ECON 12 for a principles course. It would seem that the concern has been to de-emphasize personal finance and to develop content competency in institutional economics; but as Wagner and Metcalf (1963) indicate, content too often is descriptive, and rarely are students required to do disciplined, analytical thinking. Additional research is needed on the impact of the instruction being given to students, involving content that is more centrally and better planned.

The Behavioral Sciences and Government. Sources that hold great promise for a "new" content basis are the behavioral sciences and government. These are evolving in similar directions toward an integrated study of human behavior, with individuals and groups seen in interaction with the socioeco-

nomic-political-cultural environment. The disciplines involved most centrally here are cultural anthropology, psychology, social psychology, and sociology. To these has been added government. Economics may be included, but current research efforts do not point in that direction as yet. Each of these disciplines has its more traditional aspect as one of the social sciences, but as social studies education gravitates toward (1) inquiry-centered study and (2) a smaller number of significant concepts, those aspects of the disciplines concerned with the study of modern man and his behavior show signs of being brought together through the above two components. The role of the central behavioral sciences of cultural anthropology, psychology, social psychology, and sociology has received little research attention as a major contributor to social studies education. Kenyon (1965) did make a significant contribution when he found that high school seniors held very positive attitudes toward studying the sciences of human behavior but were deficient in their knowledge of them.

In sociology Nash (1962) listed concepts and generalizations from abstract sociology which would focus content less on social pathology and more on the insights needed to further broad positive goals of social studies education. Feldmesser (1966) points out experimentation that is being conducted by Sociological Resources for Secondary Schools in testing episodes wherein students will gather, classify, manipulate, and interpret important data through instructional models involving laboratory work in various secondary courses. Joyce and Weinberg (1964) found that the use of "guiding" questions in conversations was very helpful in enabling elementary school pupils to observe examples of such sociological concepts as "norms" and "values" in meaningful ways.

In a national survey by Thornton (1965), psychology on the secondary school level was found to be a separate, usually one-semester course in 14.5 percent of the high schools in 49 states. In those schools offering the course, 1.4 percent of the students in grades 9 through 12 were taking it, or 5.4 percent of the total student enrollment in the grade in which the course was given. In analyzing six texts specifically designed for the course, he noted that in accordance with recommendations by authorities major emphases were on personality, interpersonal relationships, mental hygiene, and the biological foundations of behavior. Nebergall (1965) researched the need for presenting materials appropriate to an integrated, problem-solving, and non-text-oriented study of normal people reacting in and adapting to their physical and social environments.

To date, no significant research results are available concerning the content selection from cultural anthropology as a strong component in social studies education (grades K-12), but very soon perhaps some of the materials from the Georgia Project on the elementary school level and the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project on the secondary school

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level will have been sufficiently tested to provide needed direction for establishing the role of this important discipline in developing a behavioral science approach to the study of man in his cultural setting. These projects bear watching.

In Government, although some research was done in the traditional areas of teacher concern about instruction in governmental structure, it is noteworthy that during the past ten years the stress has been on political socialization and political behavior. Students are being encouraged to generalize about observed phenomena of political behavior on the local, state, national, and international levels and to test these generalizations by using appropriate tools of analysis and empirical investigation. Riddle and Cleary (1966) point up significant areas of the "new content" with suggestions for implementation in social studies education.

A good deal of attention has been given to the degree of political socialization the elementary child possesses, with implications for more sophisticated content and methodology from kindergarten through grade 6. Easton and Hess (1962), Greenstein (1964), and Estvan (1962) are among those leading in this research. Easton and others, who devoted over five years to studying some 12,000 elementary school pupils nationally, found that a child's political world begins to take shape before he enters school and undergoes rapid change from kindergarten through grade 6. By the time the child has completed elementary school many of his basic political attachments, attitudes, and values are firmly established and are not subject to significant change during the secondary school years. The importance of providing more content related to government and political behavior is clear, and the need becomes more evident when related to Estvan's findings on what is being taught by elementary teachers in Wisconsin. Individual responsibility rather than government *per se* was stressed in the lower grades, and in the intermediate grades governmental organization was emphasized. Analytical skills and critical thinking were neglected. Greenstein found that in children 9 to 13 most significant learning about political behavior occurs outside the formal instructional program of the classroom. Individuals were found to be easier for children to understand than were complex institutions such as the legislature—all of which suggests that political behavior approaches might be substituted at this level for process or legal-institutional approaches.

Shaver (1965) found, much as Estvan had for the elementary school level, that reflective thinking usually is not encouraged on the secondary level; his conclusion was based on a study of 93 texts mostly dealing with American government and civics. Such texts did not provide springboards for (1) evaluating societal issues, (2) systematically conceptualizing a pluralistic society, (3) handling clashes of values, or (4) preparing youth to deal with issues realistically. In reviewing current social studies projects, it is interesting to note that, including international understanding and world affairs, more

are concerned with government (some 15) than with any one of the other social sciences.

Values. As the social sciences become more "realistic," with calls for inquiry, analysis of discipline structure, and insights into basic concepts, an emerging source of content is the area of values and value complexes—the affective domain. This includes a study of contemporary values in flux and the establishing of values and value complexes by students in grades K-14, as their total social studies education program combines value content with insights from the social sciences in an effort to meet life's problems. This approach differs from, but does not totally exclude, the purely humanistic and historical study of values which others have held. It does not, however, imply character education or the legalistic-moralistic approach. Brady (1966) advocates a new "discipline of social studies" using value studies as content, organized about a conceptual model involving (1) value systems, (2) sociocultural drifts, (3) historical and geographic factors influencing values and drifts, and (4) social problems as value-drift conflicts.

In defining the content of values for use in schools in the United States, there seems to be two approaches, namely, the direct and the indirect. As a direct approach, Perchlik (1964) identified nine major freedoms, each with subdivisions—of speech, press, petition and demonstration, political action, assembly, education, association, investigation and research, and travel—which he established as contributors to diversity.

The concern for establishing an indirect approach to value study is generated by three considerations: (1) a desire not to engage in moralistic indoctrination, (2) awareness of results from anthropological research that show how one gains in comprehension of his own culture through the study of others, and (3) empirical evidence such as furnished by Horton (1955) that instruction in civics and American government does not correlate positively with attitudinal results on democracy and freedom versus totalitarianism. B. Allen (1965) attempted to meet this problem by establishing an instrument to measure gain in attitudes related to American values and beliefs through instruction in adverse referents. This whole area of content from values, including instruction in and evaluation thereof, presents a genuine research challenge for more effective social studies education.

Area Studies. This "new" area of content suggests possibilities for providing the basis for many of the preceding subtopics; it involves the social science with values, including adverse referents. Walsh (1962) incorporated the above goals in an excellent teaching model for culture studies on the elementary school level, which would also be useful on the secondary level, where such an approach is usually found in the "world block" in grades 9 and 10. Some five social studies projects are concerned with developing content guides and materials in area studies, particularly as related to Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

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ORGANIZING THE CURRICULUM. The organization of the social studies curriculum (grades K-14) for the past half century has resisted needed change, with that of grades K through 6 based on the expanding-community concept from the individual through the world; grades 7-12, the double three-year cycles of world history and United States history and civics; and the 13-14 level, an "Introduction" to world and United States history and the various traditional social science disciplines. No unifying theory seems to exist. However, four areas of agreement are emerging: (1) content drawn from all the social sciences, (2) content introduced earlier and required longer, (3) an inquiry-centered approach, and (4) in-depth study of selected areas, eras, or issues.

Fraser and McCutchen (1965) suggest 15 organizing themes and propose patterns of organization with the above areas of agreement incorporated into two- or three-year articulated blocks. Four social studies projects (Hill & others, 1967) hold some promise for a needed articulation, in grades K through 12. Muessig (1965) provides excellent guide lines for both newer content and curriculum procedures. Adair (1962) establishes a theoretical model to aid curriculum leaders in recognizing readiness for curriculum change in a given school situation.

Elementary School Curriculum (Grades K-6). Significant trends in elementary school curriculum patterns include more emphasis on inquiry, human relationships, contemporary affairs, and cross-disciplinary social science. A comprehensive overview of recent trends, issues, and problems has been presented by Michalis (1962).

The three-phased Stanford Project, as discussed by Hanna and Lee (1962), is built upon the expanding-community concept. Ten dissertations, each centering on a basic human activity, identified 3,272 basic social science generalizations. The second phase involves selecting and modifying those generalizations deemed highly significant to the study of each of the expanding communities, and the third phase will test the content resulting from the earlier phases.

A growing body of literature indicates a need for revision of the elementary school social studies curriculum, since children's interests, abilities, and needs extend beyond those reflected in current practice. From examination of children's art, writing, oral expression, and selection of reading materials in grades 2, 4, and 6, LaDue (1962) found that pupil interests exceeded the geographic areas of their own environment and included current problems dominating the international scene. Clements (1964) examined how anthropologists, sociologists, and historians engage in inquiry and identified three task stages: (1) clarification of inquiry purposes, (2) conduct of inquiry and (3) report of findings. He concluded that if elementary school students are to use the methods of the social scientists, they must be given the opportunity to do so.

Secondary School Curriculum (Grades 7-14). The secondary curriculum organization still remains

sharply divided between junior and senior high school, though some experts advocate a world civilization block for grades 9 and 10 which would bridge the gap between the two levels. Curriculum changes on the secondary level since 1955 have been reported in detail for North Central schools by Sjostrom (1964).

On the junior high school level Hansen (1964) found the prevalent sequence in Wisconsin to be similar to the unchanged national picture, with the leading required course in grade 7 being geography; in grade 8, United States history; and in grade 9, citizenship. Teachers basically were not prepared in the subjects they were teaching. In appraising the use of core material, Phillips (1961) reports no significant differences between students in corelike and noncore situations in their achievement, interest development, or social-adjustment improvement. Students under the noncore approach developed more liberal attitudes. Aldrich and others (1967) appraise the social studies curriculum of the junior high school and present five sample programs in detail.

On the senior high school level Moreland (1962) found in a national survey that the most common offerings are world history in grade 10, United States history in grade 11, and problems in grade 12. Moreland concluded that the general practice in curriculum revision is change of subject matter within courses and addition of electives rather than reorganization involving basic course titles. Olmo (1966) found that college entrance requirements influence the senior high school curriculum heavily and that professional reading receives little attention by teachers.

Virtually no significant research has appeared in the past decade on curriculum developments in the junior college or the first two years of general education (13-14). Gross and Maynard (1965), in surveying history and foreign relations offerings, verify the dominance of traditional Western civilization and introductory social science courses needed by students to meet their major requirements. Much will need to be done at this level if newer developments (grades K-12) are to be built upon in meaningful ways.

Instruction. Research in social studies methodology is moving into a new era, with emphasis on investigating the potential in a reflective theory of method. In actual classroom practice, far too little innovation in instructional approach can be found, with the traditional teacher-led discussion based on textbook assignments being the dominant mode. The complex problem of unifying theory and practice must be solved in conjunction with an examination of the nature of the teaching-learning situation—by far the most significant aspect of the social studies classroom. One must agree with Oliver that, considering that this field is at least as complex as problems dealing with the atom, research into social studies methodology is by comparison neither very rich nor very extensive.

Learning Problems. The most common characteristic of the culturally disadvantaged, as is generally agreed by those actually working with them, is a

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lack of direct or firsthand experience. Student feelings of insecurity, coupled with unsuitable materials and inflexible curricula, contribute to the problem of reaching the disadvantaged. Curry (1962) found, in a study of children in grade 6, that socioeconomic status seems to have no effect upon scholastic achievement when the students have high intellectual ability. However, as intellectual ability decreases, the effect of socioeconomic conditions on scholastic achievement greatly increases. Edgar (1965), in a study involving Negro and Puerto Rican children in deprived areas of New York City, developed fictional and biographical materials which integrated a limited number of social studies concepts with other subjects. Clear goals and a simple teaching methodology were established to help ensure repeated success experiences. The experimental group using the above approach gained more points on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale over a three-year period than did the control group. Those students who fall behind their peers in the application of skills, particularly in reading skills, experience difficulty with the highly verbal and abstract social studies curriculum which is still the major educational fare.

Several studies indicate work is being done to provide for the needs of the fast learner. Bidna (1961), surveying 201 social studies programs for academically talented high school students, found the most frequently reported administrative programs were ability grouping, specialized classes, enrichment within regular classes, and advanced placement. Although only 33 percent of the schools developed a written statement of program objectives and less than 50 percent formally evaluated their specialized programs, they claimed that their programs created a stimulating atmosphere that resulted in high accomplishment.

Teaching Strategies. Lux (1959) found that a wide variety of teaching methods and strategies were employed by social studies teachers rated superior by administrators. The unit method was preferred; teacher-led discussions, as well as emphasis on individual activities, were common. Junior high school teachers used dramatizations, chart and map construction, bulletin board displays, other visual aids, and supplementary texts more than did senior high school teachers. Casteel (1963) investigated whether methods of political science could be translated into activities which would equip students with techniques and skills necessary for making wise decisions. These methods included the generic, descriptive, analytical, case-study, survey, experimental, and mathematical approaches. Casteel found that students of varying abilities in grades 9 through 12 successfully used political science techniques.

R. Jones (1964) compared the problems approach with the main-ideas approach to determine which was more successful in producing conceptual learning among pupils in grade 5. Results showed that children following the main-ideas approach scored higher on concrete concepts, whereas children using the problems approach scored higher on abstract concepts. Oliver and Baker (1959), working

with slow students in grades 7 and 11 concluded that the case method challenges the student to make personal decisions about important social problems. Other conclusions were as follows: (1) the listening span was good at both levels, but discussion was more conceptual and wholistic in grade 11; (2) the conceptual experience necessary to understand cases was much lower in grade 7; and (3) both groups made gains in knowledge of facts and in ability to distinguish fact from opinion.

Inquiry Approaches. Although current social studies programs give only minimal attention to conceptual teaching, Metcalf (1963) does present a comprehensive review of the research concerning its theory. Possien (1965) compared the effectiveness of three teaching methodologies: (1) inductive (self-discovery), (2) deductive (telling of facts and generalizations by the teacher and rote learning by the students), and (3) deductive (including detailed explanations of causal relationships underlying concepts). Those students trained in the use of inductive procedures exhibited more characteristics of effective problem-solving behavior than did pupils taught by either of the two deductive methods. Numerous writers in the field of social studies education have indicated that using the reflective theory of method holds the most promise for uniting theory with practice. Although most studies in this area assume reflective thinking can best be improved through the problems approach, McCarry (1961) found that even greater gains were achieved through the process of determining meaning. Much research, not specifically in social studies education, is available in the area of inquiry approaches.

Skills Development. Since skills play such a significant role in social studies achievement no matter which method or strategies are used or regardless of the nature of the student involved, this area warrants separate attention. Research on the development of those skills necessary to acquire, analyze, evaluate, and apply social learning will be presented in this section. Carpenter (1963) has provided a comprehensive source of information on skills development.

Reading. Haffner (1959) analyzed 42 social studies textbooks used in grades 5 and 6 in order to determine and compare vocabulary load, social-concept burden, and reading grade level. Findings indicated that textbooks for grade 6 presented less vocabulary difficulty than did those for grade 5 and that the social-concept burden was greater in texts for grade 6; also, textbooks on both grade levels contained excessive vocabulary loads and concept burdens. Tankersley (1963) compared the direct approach to developing skills in locating information, which utilizes a systematic presentation of lessons, with an indirect approach involving teaching such skills only when needed. Results favored the direct approach. Even with its use, involving social studies class time, content achievement was not affected adversely.

Maps and Globes. The question of at what mental-age levels the various skills in map and globe interpretation can be mastered was investigated by

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Sorohan (1962). Eleven interpretive skills were tested, including legends and symbols, scale, grid location, projections, and regional concept. Mastery of each skill was set at 80 percent correct responses, and mental-age placement was set at the point where 75 percent of the group attained mastery. Sorohan concluded that the skills he investigated, although often introduced at earlier grade levels, do not begin to be mastered by the group as a whole until the mental age of 131 months, or approximately in grade 5. Since results indicate the mental age at which each skill is mastered, implications exist for teaching based on individual differences, which are more in line with mental than chronological age or grade placement. Various methods have been employed in developing map and globe skills, including conceptual teaching as reported by Carmichael (1965). Conceptual teaching was defined as an inquiry-discovery approach based upon concept attainment. The problem was to determine the effectiveness of (1) a conceptual method in teaching map reading and geographic understanding and (2) regular classroom teachers using that method without prior training. The experimental group, using a unit of study stressing concepts rather than facts, made far greater improvement in both geographic concepts and in map reading. Reading skills played an important part in understanding geographical concepts, but not in map reading. Teachers had no difficulty in teaching the course without extra training.

Time and Chronology. Numerous studies have dealt with the development of time sense and chronology. Arnsdorf (1939) investigated learning experiences which emphasized activities related to chronology in grade 6, including chronological terms, time lines, and time charts. The major conclusions of this worthwhile study were that planned instruction helped children in the following respects: (1) to comprehend definite and indefinite time terms; (2) to note similarity of time spans with reference to given events; (3) to develop skill in ordering events with dates; and (4) to develop competency in recognizing time absurdities. Children in grade 2 were studied by McAulay (1961) to determine their understanding of time as related to self, their immediate environment, and historical events. The children had more difficulty in associating past and present when related to self or family than if unrelated to self and immediate environment. They seemed to have an appreciably better understanding of time periods if the periods were concerned with events, rather than with places or people. They were capable of comprehending known events of the past related to the present, of associating persons with events, and of connecting historical persons with their accomplishments. Gill (1962) investigated whether significant difficulties and differences existed among various grade levels in interpreting indefinite expressions of time commonly found in textbooks and class discussions. Gill constructed a test of indefinite time expressions and administered it to randomly selected groups of college juniors and seniors, potential teachers, high school juniors and seniors,

and students in grades 5 and 8. Terms included "a long time ago," "in colonial times," and "the last decade." Findings indicated that (1) indefinite time expressions were loosely interpreted at all grade levels; (2) the higher grade levels, particularly the college group, demonstrated a superior grasp of indefinite time expressions; and (3) when teachers use indefinite time expressions, a variety of meanings is perceived by the pupils.

Critical Thinking. Critical thinking, a necessary goal of social studies instruction, is perhaps the goal least often satisfied. There is agreement as to the skills needed to be a "critical thinker"; little research exists, however, on how to develop these skills. Fair and Shafer (1967) discuss the nature of critical thinking, its implementation, and its evaluation.

Cousins (1962), in a noteworthy study involving a theoretical model of reflective thinking, described and analyzed its development in grade 8. Conclusions were that pupils could be taught to think reflectively without jeopardy to factual knowledge and that teachers can develop valid instruments to evaluate instruction designed to further critical thinking.

MATERIALS. Although an increasing amount of material is being published for use in social studies education, much of it fails to take into account research relative to the learning process. In textbooks, changing objectives generally are not reflected, important social issues either are avoided or are treated superficially, and inadequate scholarship is all too prevalent. Supplementary materials, however, seem to be meeting many important needs that textbooks fail to meet.

Textbooks. The treatment of social change in high school history texts was examined by Palmer (1960), who found that 82 percent of the textbooks failed to contribute significantly to building an understanding of the social change process. Kennedy (1960) concluded that in social studies textbooks the treatment of the Moslem nations and of India and Israel was dated and that supplementary materials were needed. Lemmond (1964) investigated the degree to which social studies textbooks provided human value orientation. Wealth and power received most attention, and least was given to affection and rectitude; in general, human values were often ignored or treated lightly.

Programmed and Simulated Materials. During recent years there has been a remarkable growth in self-instruction materials. A challenge to the traditional textbook, programmed materials are Socratic in nature, since they lead the learner to higher levels of understanding through small steps of graduated difficulty. A problem arises in developing such materials for many aspects of social studies; for instance, intuitive and reflective thinking are not easily programmed. Wood (1962) investigated the learning of factual information in grade 9 by a comparison of a programmed-materials and teacher-led instructional combination with a traditional approach. Students using programmed materials learned

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factual material better. Cherryholmes (1965) adapted a game involving simulation in international relations for use with high school students. Student interest was high, and realistic attitudes resulted. Many problems, both theoretical and practical, are evident; nevertheless, the potential gains from using this type of material merit continued experimentation.

Audiovisual Aids. Research dealing with audiovisual materials in social studies education is limited. While the aids themselves are plentiful, research is needed to determine which type is best for a given situation. Pictures, projected through various means, have been shown to promote vocabulary growth and motivation in social studies (Georgiady, 1959). A comparative study of the effectiveness of a geography course taught via television and one taught in a regular classroom setting was made by Johnson (1960). Material was covered in 33 percent less time on television. Although the mean score on the final examination for students taking the television course was lower, their content retention after three months was greater.

EVALUATION. Substantive research on evaluation done specifically in social studies education over the past decade is limited. This might derive from the fact that social studies educators and teachers of social studies, not being "at home" in this area, are not aware of its potential and, therefore, of the need to utilize that potential effectively. Perhaps the need is acknowledged, but the responsibility is left to professionals in evaluation.

D. Allen (1959) found the lack of sophistication in evaluation among social studies teachers to be disturbing. They did not like evaluation and wished that need for it would disappear. If placing concern for evaluation before objectives is "putting the cart before the horse," some of the research developments discussed in the section on objectives may in essence be basic research in the area of evaluation. That the need to use more sophisticated evaluation procedures is great has been pointed out by Massialas (1961), whose work has been referred to in the previous discussion of sources of content in world history. Some techniques, such as programming and simulation, build in their own unique procedures. Concrete suggestions are to be found in the article of Berg (1965), who spells out the role of evaluation in social studies education and provides specific recommendations for its achievement.

Many instruments have been specially designed by researchers to conduct investigations into other areas of social studies education, and these have been described above under the appropriate headings. Three tests developed to meet particular needs are those by B. Allen (1965), in the area of belief in American values; Figert (1966), on dogmatism or open-and closed-mindedness of children in grades 4 through 6; and Gall (1966), for determining progress of elementary school children in decision-making ability. Oliver and Shaver (1962) have reported on means for more effective evaluation of student statements made in oral discussion. Coolsby (1963)

sounds a warning note on utilization of subtest scores in elementary school social studies evaluation when objectives have not been discretely stated or sufficiently sophisticated instruments have not been employed.

TEACHER EDUCATION. Several studies, such as that of Hansen (1964) on secondary school curriculum (grades 7-11), have indicated that social studies teachers are not well prepared. Hart (1960), in analyzing factors related to high and low achievement among high school seniors in understanding basic social concepts, found that teachers in high-ranking schools had had major undergraduate preparation in social studies, whereas teachers in low-ranking schools had their major undergraduate preparation in fields other than social studies. Further, among teachers in high-ranking schools, qualities of teaching effectiveness and methodology were consistently rated more important by students than were personality characteristics.

Black (1963) did research among 400 secondary social studies teachers in grades 7 through 12 in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina to determine the relationship between undergraduate content preparation and teaching assignments during the first and fifth years. Black found that most had an undergraduate content specialty of 19 or more semester hours in one subject, usually history, with some collateral work in one to three of the other social sciences. This was the pattern preferred by college advisors. When teaching assignments were analyzed, it was found that neither initial nor later responsibilities related to the area of concentration selected during undergraduate work. Most frequently taught social studies courses were history, geography, and civics, in that order, initially at the junior high level and later moving "up" to the senior high. Although teachers had only one or two social studies subjects to teach each year, over a five-year period they had taught in two to five social science content areas. Principals preferred social studies teachers with content preparation in all five of the basic social sciences, plus a 15-18-semester-hour depth in one. Indications were that their desires for content preparation corresponded more with what teachers actually taught. These findings are interesting in light of how closely they correlate with the "Guidelines for the Preparation of Social Studies Teachers" issued by the National Council for the Social Studies (1967), which advocates an undergraduate content major in secondary social studies education involving broad preparation in anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, psychology, and sociology, with depth study in one of those disciplines. The NCSS also endorsed a graduate program combining further content and professional education study. Elementary teachers should have completed a program consistent with the same philosophy, and social studies educators should be proficient in both the subject matter and teaching methods of social studies. In a study concurring with the later recommendation, Searles (1965), pointed out that, in

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comparison with 1952, in 1965 42 percent rather than 27 percent of the social studies educators were teaching social science content courses in combination with education classes.

The above research points up needs related to content preparation. Little significant research is available on programs for pre- and in-service education designed for *and actually producing* more effective social studies teachers. Kirk (1964), experimenting with the use of the Minnesota System of Interaction Analysis, found that employing this system significantly modified the amount of discourse by student teachers and resulted in increased pupil discussion participation in intermediate-grades social studies classes. Various systems of classifying and analyzing classroom behavior that are continually being tested in subjects on all levels hold promise for social studies education. In the area of new media in teacher education, Chabe (1962) found that observation by closed-circuit television in elementary school social studies methods courses proved almost as effective as guided observation in actual classrooms. Further experimentation with recorded experiences of student and in-service social studies teachers may reveal the potential of using more sophisticated and objective analysis, reexamination, reflection, and criticism based on a conceptual framework of teaching. Some progress in this research area has been reported, but not specifically in social studies education.

One overarching conclusion is warranted: if improvements are to be made in social studies education which relate more effective teaching to developments emerging on both the content and methods fronts, broad research-based and field-tested programs of teacher education need to be conducted and reported nationally. Research will continue to improve if writings such as that of Price (1964), proposing in detail needed research in social studies education, are heeded. Then the results of research as indicated in this article and in Metcalf (1963), McPhie (1964), Massialas and Smith (1965), and others must be thoroughly studied, applied in teacher education programs, and implemented in grades K through 14.

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RESEARCH REVIEW THREE

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REVIEW OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL STUDIES: 1968

by WILLIAM D. JOHNSON, ROLAND F. PAYETTE, and C. BENJAMIN COX

PAST EDITIONS of SOCIAL EDUCATION's annual review of research have been organized according to a format established by Gross and Badger (37) in the 1960 edition of the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. Education rubrics, such as "curriculum, instruction, measurement, and evaluation," were used by Gross and Badger.

The organization of this year's review differs in that it employs rubrics from the cognate fields as well as the familiar education headings. As in the past an abstract of the study is placed under the rubric judged most appropriate. About 35 percent of the studies have their primary listing under a subject discipline. Since many studies deal with an education question within a discipline, many studies were given secondary listings. Thus, readers with subject orientations can as readily determine what is relevant to their interests as can those with specialized interests in education.

The organization of this review also differs in the sub-categories it employs. Not only have the 118 studies dealt with been categorized on the basis of four major headings, but they have also been sub-categorized, whenever possible, according to rubrics called antecedents, transactions, and outcomes. Stake (99), among the earliest to conceptualize the elements of instruction and evaluation as antecedents, transactions, and outcomes, described the nature of these conceptions. According to Stake, "an antecedent is any condition existing prior to teaching and learning which may relate to outcomes. Transactions are the countless encounters of students with teacher, student with student, author with reader, parent with counselor—the succession of engagements which comprise the process of education. Outcomes are the consequences of educating—immediate and long-

range, cognitive and conative, personal and community-wide."

More recently, Payette and Cox (81) have applied Stake's conceptions to evaluation in the social studies. They conclude that Stake's formulations assist in the identification of numerous new variables for research in social studies education and that perceptions of and sensitivities to relationships among variables are enhanced. It is hoped that the use of antecedents, transactions, and outcomes in the internal organization of this review has assisted the reviewers to see additional relationships among the work of independent investigators in the social studies.

As noted in past reviews, *Dissertation Abstracts* remains the greatest single source of social studies research. In the present review 74 percent of the studies were found in the 14 months of *Abstracts* surveyed. The balance of the studies were found in ten different journals, e.g., *SOCIAL EDUCATION* and *Journal of Educational Research*, which published from one to five studies. A number of recent mimeographed papers are also included in this review.

In all, 121 studies are listed. Of the 121, three are references dealing with past reviews or organizational considerations leaving 118 studies of primary interest. These studies were authored or coauthored by 124 separate investigators. Of the total number of investigators, four—Hicks (43, 44), Rosenshine (88, 89), Ryan (90, 91), and Sheridan (94, 91)—are represented by two works, and one group of three investigators—Massialas, Sweeney, and Freitag (67, 68)—also have two studies.

Six of the investigators represented in this year's review were also included in last year's edition. They are C. B. Cox, O. L. Davis, Jr., B. G. Massialas, J. E. Potterfield, R. H. Ratcliffe, and F. L. Ryan. In view of the large number of studies and dissertations dealing with social studies or employing social studies pupils as subjects, it seems surprising that so few investigators maintain sustained efforts in the field.

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SUBJECT AREA STUDIES

The content of a significant number of research studies is best identified with a single subject area in the field of social studies. Most often this content parallels concerns of the parent social science disciplines and history. This parallelism would appear to reflect the resurgence of interest in the separate disciplines via several of the curriculum projects, the popularity of the idea of structure, and the apparent increase of discipline related courses in the high school curriculum.

For the purpose of review, we have imposed an additional framework in our treatment of these subject area studies. As described above, we have attempted to judge whether the nature and conclusions of the studies refer most precisely to antecedents, transactions, or outcomes of the educational process. That these categories are not exclusive is recognized as one of their characteristics. In part, the classification of an educational element as an antecedent, transaction, or outcome depends on the frame of reference that the judger chooses to use. An outcome from one point of view could be an antecedent from another. Also some studies resist exclusive classification because they treat more than one of these categories, referring, for example, to a method of instruction (transaction) and to students' scores on a posttest (outcome). In such cases we have tried to judge what is the most important aspect of the study as the basis for our categorization.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Transactions. Two studies are classified as transactional in nature since the main intent in each was to test the effectiveness of instructional methodology. Hardy (39) found that participation in an archaeological dig as a final experience of a three unit sixth-grade instructional sequence significantly improved final test scores. A teacher-made test designed to measure knowledge of concepts, generalizations, and principles was used as the criterion. All students received similar instruction, except for the dig. Non-experimental students were conventionally taught the same information discovered by the experimental students during the dig. The results were interpreted to lend general support to the effectiveness of discovery methods, with the qualification that the discovery method be employed within the framework of a discipline.

Thomas (104) tested a number of hypotheses surrounding the comparison of programmed and traditional instruction in anthropology at the fifth-grade level. The study made use of content and materials produced by the Anthropology Curriculum Project at the University of Georgia. Equivalent experimental and control groups were formed from a population of 320 pupils from 14 fifth-grades. The groups were given parallel instruction for nine days on archaeological methods. The experimental treatment used programmed materials for four days. The posttest results revealed only an expected difference for race, since the reading level of Negro and white subjects was significantly different. The programmed instruction required only half the time of the traditional instruction, however, and produced a less homogeneous scoring pattern.

Outcomes. One study in anthropology treated most thoroughly the results of an instructional program. While contrasted transactions are referred to, the major analysis was of outcome data. Potterfield (86) administered a unit developed by the Anthropology Curriculum Project at the University of Georgia to three classes each of fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. One class at each level served as a control group and received no instruction in anthropology. One experimental class at each level was taught the unit by a teacher with anthropological preparation, the other experimental class was taught the unit by a teacher without anthropological training. From an elaborate analysis of the data, the investigator concluded that there were no significant differences in pupil ability to learn the anthropological unit over sex, socioeconomic class, or grade level, although higher grades tended to out-perform lower grades. Also, teacher preparation in anthropology was not significantly reflected in pupil achievement scores.

ECONOMICS

Antecedents. Three studies examined antecedent conditions in the educational setting that would affect instruction in economics. Two of these surveyed curriculum situations and one viewed teacher input. Moore (75) concluded from a survey of Texas teachers of high school economics that greater stress should be placed on the "basic principles and institutions of the American free enterprise system." He based his conclusions on the findings that the "vast

majority" of teachers were ill-prepared to teach economics, that separate economics courses were offered by only half of the high schools of Texas, and that fewer than ten percent of the pupils in these schools were enrolled in economics. Moore applauded the inclusion of economic concepts in fused social studies courses and recommended the continuation and systematic upgrading of the practice. He also pleaded for a separate required economics course and a senior elective course in economics.

Brown (11) identified basic economic concepts and determined by questionnaire the extent to which these concepts were taught in the public elementary schools of Louisiana. She concluded that economic education was to some extent approved and taught by elementary teachers in Louisiana and that schools participating in the Developmental Economic Education Program of the Joint Council on Economic Education provided a more extensive teaching of economic concepts.

Selected Economic Education Workshop participants at West Virginia University did not become more aware of economic understandings as a result of the workshop experience, according to a study by Pankey (80). Pankey matched 91 elementary teacher participants with 91 non-participants on the bases of sex, teaching, grade level, experience, and college degrees. Both groups were given the Inventory of Economic Understanding. The participant group did not score significantly higher than the non-participant group on any area of the inventory.

Transactions. Three studies examined transactional experiences designed to teach economic content. Tiemann (105) compared the effectiveness of two sets of video-recorded university economics lectures under two conditions of specificity of announced instructional goals. Effectiveness was assessed in terms of student achievement on content examinations. The taped lectures differed in that one set was refined through conventional, intuitive means, while the other was refined through programmatic procedures, i.e., repeated trials were made with a reference population until specific behavioral objectives were manifested. The two conditions of objectives were general and behavioral. Immediate posttest student performance favored the materials developed programmatically, while delayed posttest results favored specificity of instructional objectives. Apparently, experience with the earlier test cued the learners to the utility of specific objectives. The results were interpreted to suggest that the expenditure of time and money on programmatic revision is ques-

tionable when behavioral objectives are provided and their use taught.

Hunt (50) compared the effectiveness of teaching selected economic concepts through formal course work with informal exposure to these concepts in everyday living. Employing the *Test of Economic Understanding*, he found that high school seniors exposed to the economic concepts in a formal classroom situation acquire a significantly greater understanding of economics than do similar students who do not formally study the concepts. He also found that both school achievement and intelligence seem to be reflected in the learning of economics.

Clark (14) taught economic information concurrently with typewriting skill to 467 ninth-grade students. The experimental treatment substituted economics passages for the regular textual typing material used by the control classes. At the end of the nine-week experiment there were no differences between the groups as to typing speed or accuracy; but significant differences in economic information favoring the experimental group were found.

Outcomes. The emphasis of two studies in economics was on the analysis of outcome data. In the first of these the ability of first-grade pupils to learn sophisticated economic concepts and the effectiveness of differential economics instruction were examined by Spears (98). Four intact first-grade classes were identified as recipients for 17 weeks of either the regular social studies program, a modification of the program incorporating objectives and resources in economics, a pilot program produced by the Joint Council on Economic Education entitled "Developmental Economic Education Program," or a program developed by Senesh, entitled *Our Working World*.

IQ scores and pretest scores on an economics achievement test designed for this study were used as the covariants. Wilcoxon's Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks Test was used to determine the significance of differences in performance on items identified at the knowledge and application levels of cognition. Spears concluded that first-grade pupils can learn sophisticated economic concepts, since all three experimental sections performed significantly better than at the chance improvement level on posttest knowledge items prepared for his study. Control students did not improve their knowledge performance and none of the four groups showed significant gains on the posttest application items. Spears also concluded on the basis of significantly poorer improvement scores by subjects from low socioeconomic levels that the

learning style of these pupils places them at a disadvantage in the school curriculum.

Larkins (58) also investigated whether first-grade children can learn the basic concepts in *Our Working World*. Four Primary Economics Tests for Grade One were developed to assess student learning. Larkins found that both high and low ability first-grade children can learn some of the content of *Our Working World* and that there were no major concepts which were not learned by some first-grade children. He also found that special training or experience does not seem to be necessary for teachers to adequately instruct first-grade children in these economic materials.

By applying analysis of variance to test data of 1,369 high school seniors, Smith (96) determined that sex, grade-point average, IQ, socioeconomic background, age, curriculum major, and courses taken are all significantly related to economic understanding. Data on economic understanding were derived from the *Test of Economic Understanding*; a personal data sheet provided information on personal factors; and curricular data were obtained from the schools. In Smith's findings boys were superior to girls; and high achievers were significantly superior to low achievers. Also, higher IQ scores were significantly related to higher test scores. Students from families classified as professional and managerial were superior to students whose families were classified as skilled and semi-skilled; and younger students were significantly superior to older colleagues. College preparatory seniors were significantly superior to seniors completing business, vocational, and general education curriculums, though no significant differences obtained among the last three groups. Finally, a course in economics made a significant difference in economic understanding. Smith concluded, however, on the basis of criteria associated with the test, that these seniors were not qualified for effective economic citizenship. As a total group they knew less than 50 percent of the economics held essential for that behavior.

GEOGRAPHY

Antecedents. Fourteen studies were devoted to geography topics. These studies divided fairly evenly among topics related to antecedent conditions, transactions, and outcomes. The first group emphasizes antecedents. These antecedents refer to teacher preparation in geography, conceptual development of pupils, and students' prior knowledge of geographic information.

Groenhoff (36) surveyed education and geography departments in institutions in the United States which prepare social studies teachers for high school certification. His purpose was to determine how present teacher education programs are providing for the increased number of separate courses in geography being taught at the senior high school level. One-fifth of the responding institutions provide for certification in geography, and two-thirds of the institutions which offer a social studies major require at least one course in geography as part of that major. Groenhoff hypothesized that in order to meet new demands for high school courses in geography, more institutions will begin to provide for certification in geography, and more institutions will require some geography as part of a social studies major.

Geography education in the intermediate grades in the tri-state region of Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota was investigated by Veltkamp (109). He questioned 137 teachers and 31 administrators on various aspects of elementary geography education. In general, he found the teachers ill-prepared to teach what they felt was an important subject. Little evidence was found that teachers understood geography objectives. Although textbooks are relied on heavily, projection media and current events papers are widely used. Few field trips are associated with geography. Veltkamp concluded that federal funds have made a significant contribution to geography teaching.

Towler and Nelson (107) studied the development of spatial concepts in elementary school children. Contrary to the belief held by many educators that first-hand experiences with maps should be provided for students as early as possible, they concluded that most children do not develop a concept of scale before the ages of ten or eleven.

Sheridan (91) also investigated conceptual ability in young children by assessing what beginning first-grade children can tell about certain concepts of physical geography. He utilized oral and picture tests for measuring each child's awareness of these concepts. On the basis of these test data, he concluded that the children in his sample had a partial awareness of most of the concepts, but that for a number of concepts the children had a tendency to focus attention upon the striking features and to ignore other features which differentiate concepts from one another. Finally, he concluded that the sources of awareness for the concepts varied among children, although the most frequently stated source of awareness was direct contact.

Under the aegis of Project Africa, a project com-

missioned to design instructional materials and techniques for use in improving instruction about sub-Saharan Africa, Hicks and Beyer (44) identified knowledge and impressions of Africa held by American secondary school students prior to formal study of Africa. The results of a sixty-item multiple-choice instrument, "Africa South of the Sahara," suggests that beginning seventh-grade students have a very limited and superficial knowledge of sub-Saharan Africa. They know most about economic development, physical geography, and the history of the region pertaining to European penetration. Students beginning the twelfth-grade know more than students in the seventh-grade, but even their knowledge is limited.

High (45) classified those political concepts included in world geography textbooks designed for use at the sixth-grade level and analyzed the available books to determine the extent to which the concepts were presented. She reported that all the texts included political concepts concerning freedoms, rights, and international cooperation and that the majority of the books showed the system of democracy to be desirable and the system of communism to be basically undesirable.

Transactions. A second group of geographic studies refers particularly to transactional experiences in classrooms as the important independent variable. While in each case antecedent conditions, e.g., IQ, are taken to be factors in the study and certain outcomes, e.g., test results, serve as criteria of effect, the emphasis appears to be on the identification and description of a treatment given to students as a special transactional experience.

Ryan (90) investigated the effect of test anxiety and advanced organizers on the achievement of intermediate pupils studying the geography of Japan. In this case knowledge of California's geography was used as a source of advanced organizers. An achievement criterion was used along with Sarason's *Test Anxiety Scale for Children*. Instruction consisted of five programmed texts administered with the appropriate advanced organizer. Advanced organizers were found to positively and significantly affect achievement scores. Reported anxiety levels were not associated with achievement, but were positively associated with time required to complete the lessons.

Belgum (8) concluded that lower to middle socioeconomic sixth-grade pupils could be taught "skills of identifying and interpreting physical and cultural landscape features" represented by geographic photographs. Two treatments were used: instruction,

which consisted of ten 45-minute lessons, and non-instruction. Intelligence, but not sex, was found to be significantly related to success in photo-interpretations.

Davis (20) found no support for the hypothesis that illustrative maps facilitate learning of geographic text material. In the first of two studies, the presence of an illustrative map did benefit the highest third of the subject population by IQ. In the second study intelligence was held constant through covariance techniques and no significant differences were found. Davis compared his findings with those of other investigators and found general agreement except for bar graphs.

In a beginning university geography class Fluitt (27) sought to determine the effects of wall maps, desk atlases, and slide projected maps on student achievement. A rotation group experimental design was used to allow each class section to experience each of the techniques. Tests were administered at the conclusion of each of two units of work included in the study to determine achievement under each approach. Fluitt found no statistical difference in student achievement related to the techniques. Mechanical and visual difficulties made the slide projections of marginal value. Student questionnaire responses indicated that students preferred desk atlases to wall maps as instructional aids.

Outcomes. The focus of four studies was on the outcomes of instruction. The outcome measures in these cases were test scores.

With the rationale that modern kindergarten programs require greater cognitive emphasis, Portugal (85) developed an instructional program to teach the topic, *The Earth as a Globe*, to 21 disadvantaged kindergarten pupils. The program featured certain key concepts such as earth-sun relationships and seasonal characteristics. Contrasts of pre- post-scores on an instrument prepared by the investigator were used to demonstrate the effectiveness of the program. The investigator concluded that the pupils were developing a basic understanding of the topic and that increased stress on conceptual goals was possible for kindergarten pupils.

Feldman (25) conducted a sophisticated pilot study to test the hypothesis that a "fixed sequence of concept and skill acquisition is requisite to representation of space in the drawing of a proper geographic map." Forty-six intermediate middle-class summer school pupils were asked to draw a map of the school grounds. A sequential test of map-reading skills was administered. Pupil performance on the two instru-

ments was highly correlated, but not highly correlated with IQ. An analysis of pupil errors in the sequenced test revealed that pupils who failed early items failed on later items. Pupils who passed early items could pass, or not pass, later items. The relationship was regular leading the investigator to accept the basic hypothesis of the study, i.e., an ordered set of skills is requisite to map drawing.

Zimmer (120) constructed a diagnostic test comprised of hypothetical maps and 140 multiple-choice items covering such specific map skills as using symbols, reading directions, measuring distance, and using latitude. In this study in which the instrument was used with 1,167 fifth-, sixth-, and seventh-grade pupils, Zimmer found that major errors are continuous through the three grades, though significant improvement does occur across the grades, especially between grades five and six.

Gaskell and Sheridan (81) reported on the Multi-grade Planning-Teaching Team Project at the laboratory school of Central Washington State College. A unit on map skills was taught to students by the intermediate grades team. Data derived from the administration of diagnostic measures indicated that most students developed greater understanding and could use maps more effectively at the end of the unit.

CIVICS

Two studies were reported in civics and government. One of these dealt with teacher preparation, an antecedent condition to instruction. The other referred principally to programed instruction, a type of transaction.

The academic preparation of teachers of ninth-grade civics in a group of selected schools in Colorado was examined by Hickenbottom (42). She analyzed the content of the most commonly used textbooks in the course to determine the type of preparation that would be most relevant. Transcripts of the civics teachers were examined for this preparation, largely political science, economics, and other social sciences. Hickenbottom found that 18 percent of the assigned teachers had no preparation in political science, and another 37 percent had less than the minimum standard of 7.5 hours. Scant preparation in other social sciences was found. The concentration of preparation was in history. One-third of the civics teachers were certified in areas other than social studies and 44 percent were also teaching in non-social studies areas. In Hickenbottom's sample, small schools tended to have fewer criterion infractions than larger schools.

Tali (102) used the linear constructed response unit, *How a Bill Becomes a Law*, published by Ginn and Company, to test the feasibility of using programed instruction in social studies. In the study, 227 seventh-grade students were pretested on the content of the program and then instructed to pursue the programed unit on their own. Posttest results indicated acceptable achievement for all students, though the more intelligent students recorded higher gains. Time required for the unit was not a factor in the amount of achievement. The programed material was most successful with average or better students.

HISTORY

Antecedents. The major concern of four studies in antecedent conditions in the form of curriculum and content problems surrounding concepts, ideas, and structures. In the first of these, in the area of world history, Petersen (83) concluded that "explicit criteria, rather than tradition" should govern the selection of content of world history courses. Pursuant of these criteria she prepared a Checklist of Key Concepts with subdivisions including "historical and cultural, geographical, social, economic, political, intellectual, religious, and esthetic concepts." Petersen concluded that selected portions of the course should be studied in greater depth and that the historical method should receive greater emphasis. Revised teacher preparation and in-service and institute programs were called for to prepare teachers to teach the new world history curricula. She found no agreement among world history teachers where in the social studies sequence the course should be taught and concluded that it will probably remain a sophomore offering.

Meinhard (70) developed a structure for teaching American history based on important synoptic ideas. The objective of a course built on this framework would be to gain an understanding of some 44 major and 183 minor synoptic ideas. Meinhard's synoptic ideas are structured under one main course idea and seven unit ideas. Reading, reflective thinking, and teaching are emphasized in his course and lesson outline.

Wendel (112) theoretically devised a procedure for structurally examining a discipline and translating that structure into teaching strategies that directly involve students in experiencing and "discovering" the structure. In this study he applied the scheme to the particular historical interpretation of Collingwood. Students learn to replicate the syntactical structure of history by imaginatively reconstructing

the thoughts of men that led them to purposive acts in the past. They learn to inquire as Collingwood-like historians. Wendel suggests the scheme can be applied to other interpretations and other social disciplines.

Civil-military conflicts are the focus of a study by Neely (79). In an effort to reorient the study of military history in the United States, Neely developed the history of conflicts over the development and retirement of major weapons. Social studies lessons and materials are suggested, surrounding the actual effectiveness of weapons *vis a vis* opinions of civilians and the military.

Smith (97) researched the socioeconomic, psychological, and educational status of the Negro American, surveyed American history books to determine the extent of omission of Negro-related content, and designed 12 depth studies of topics that significantly included the role of the Negro. The depth studies constitute a proposed program for the elementary school that includes content from each branch of the social sciences.

Two studies focused on the preparation, knowledge, and attitude of the teacher as important antecedent conditions of instruction. Hicks (43) found knowledge of English history, as measured by an especially prepared instrument, unrelated to the total number of credits in history for a population of 36 social studies teachers. The recency and number of years spent in teaching world history were found to be significantly related to criterion test performance. The results were interpreted as casting doubt on the assumption that teacher subject competence is a function of formal course work and as supporting the general value placed on teaching experience.

John (32) found significant differences in emphasis placed on certain aspects of instruction among high school teachers of history, college history teachers, national social studies specialists, and college teachers of education. Using survey and interview techniques, the investigator found the differences greatest in the areas of objectives, content organization, methods, materials, and evaluation. Of the four groups, high school history teachers were found to be most like college history teachers. The investigator concluded that high school history teachers tend to emphasize traditional practices and are not greatly influenced by current research or innovation in social studies education.

One study in the area of history examined antecedent features, described some transactions, and identified some outcomes in teaching history to slow

learners. Wilson (115) attempted to determine the major problems in introducing a special program for slow learners in American history. Aspects of the study included a comparison of motivational features in the special materials with those in regular materials, the identification of special provisions for individual differences, the determination of objectives comparable to those in the regular program, the observation of the use of the new materials, and the evaluation of the achievement of the users of the materials. Wilson's findings suggest that special materials do not increase achievement, though slight reading improvement resulted from the use of some materials. Social studies skills, information, and vocabulary were relatively unaffected and behavior problems were not eliminated by the use of special materials and procedures.

SOCIOLOGY

Antecedents. The major concern of four studies in sociology was in identifying relevant antecedents to teaching sociology in the schools. Antecedents identified include curriculum content, academic preparation of teachers, pupil and teacher interest, and structuring frameworks.

Wood (117) had elementary school teachers, curriculum specialists, and sociologists rate the importance of 182 sociological understandings. He found that elementary school teachers and curriculum specialists demonstrated considerable agreement as to the sociological understandings they believed should be included in the social studies curriculum. Additionally, he found considerable agreement among sociologists as to which sociological understandings are basic to a fundamental knowledge of sociology.

Hering (41) tested the popular hypothesis that the content preparation of teachers is positively related to pupil achievement. He analyzed evaluative data produced by a national field test of curriculum materials produced by Sociological Resources for Social Studies (SRSS). Categorical information regarding academic preparation in sociology was compared with pupils' criterion test scores. When pupil ability was held constant, no differences attributable to differences in teacher preparation in sociology were found. These results were found to be consistent with the findings of other investigators.

Grahls (34) studied the relationship between pupil interest and test performance for 12 instructional units produced by SRSS. The data were gathered as part of a nationwide pilot test of SRSS materials. In general, Grahls found a positive relation-

ship between pupil interest and learning, especially for the high-ability pupils. Some evidence was found to support a speculation that teacher interest in a topic may critically affect pupil performance.

Schlechty (92) investigated the nature of reflectively oriented teaching when viewed within the framework of modern sociology. He believes that some newer social studies theories reflect false sociological assumptions. Schlechty suggests that the structure of society comprises a better organizational system for social studies than the structure of the discipline.

SPECIAL TOPICS IN SOCIAL STUDIES

Lundy (63) and Ratcliffe and Lee (87) performed research toward the inclusion of legal information in the social studies curriculum. Lundy formulated a rationale for the systematic study of law as a part of social studies from a "rational inspection of the literature of the law and the social studies." He points out that the law is a prominent characteristic of our culture which affects our interpersonal and group relations and orders our use of human and natural resources.

Ratcliffe and Lee described a joint venture of the Chicago Board of Education and the Chicago Bar Association in curriculum building and teacher education. The venture was developed in recognition of the importance of legal knowledge to general education and the futility of assembly programs featuring

talks by lawyers. The federally financed project was begun in the summer of 1966 and has produced pupil and teacher materials. An evaluation of the program is in progress.

Two studies examined teaching about communism in high schools. Hainsworth (38) questioned the state departments of education, a sampling of textbook authors, and a sampling of non-profit organization executives on their opinions on teaching about communism. He found that communism is most often a topic in the twelfth-grade, the level also preferred by these groups. Half of the teachers are not qualified to deal with the topic, however; and the textbooks do not meet educational objectives. Most of these respondents felt that the topic should be considered as a part of regular history and government instruction rather than as a special unit. They also felt that countries posing the greatest threat to the United States should receive the greatest emphasis in the study of communism.

From ideas found in the literature on teaching communism, Lomis (63) prepared a questionnaire by which he hoped to determine similarities in programs for instruction about communism in 800 high schools in Texas. Among 231 schools having such programs, he found that in the larger schools the instructors had enrolled in graduate courses in social studies; and except for large schools, few schools had prepared resource units about communism. Parents and students in smaller schools were indifferent to such programs.

PREPARING FOR INSTRUCTION

Approximately 40 percent of the research in social studies instruction is concerned with the analysis of conditions that exist prior to instruction. Applying Stake's categories, these conditions may be viewed as antecedent conditions existing prior to educational transactions which may, in turn, relate to outcomes. In this section of the review, preparing for instruction will refer to such seemingly-disparate aspects as the value orientation of social studies textbooks, provisions for low achievers in secondary schools social studies courses, and relationships between reflective teaching methods and selected aspects of the teacher's personality. However, these seemingly dissimilar aspects of the educational situation will be grouped according to the features they have in common, and consequently similarities rather than dissimilarities will be stressed.

In this section aspects of preparing for instruction will be grouped as instructional material, organization of staff and students for instruction, or organization of content for instruction. Of the 48 studies concerned with preparing for instruction, over one-half deal with the organization of content for instruction, and less than one-third deal with instructional material or organization of staff and students for instruction.

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL

During 1968 four studies utilized textbooks as a source of data for drawing conclusions about facets of instructional materials. Johnson (53) analyzed the content of the five leading American history texts at the fifth- and eighth-grades in comparison with the list of 89 social science concepts identified in an ear-

lier study as important to the understanding of the social science disciplines. The appearance of each term was coded according to the extent of treatment given it. Of 42,158 usages of the terms in the ten books, only 1,000 usages were at the level of definition, illustration, or explanation. Sixty of the 89 terms were omitted or virtually ignored in the fifth-grade books; 44 terms were so avoided in the eighth-grade texts. Johnson concluded that the ideas social scientists hold as important are not treated adequately in the ten American history textbooks.

Zimmerman (121) polled a sample of 200 school districts in Minnesota to determine the six most used series of fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade social studies text books. These 18 books were then analyzed for their content about famous persons of the present and past. Zimmerman's analysis revealed considerable bias in the content accorded to famous persons. Women merited only two percent of all sentences referring to people. Ninety-five percent of the 700 persons identified were white. Persons most mentioned were explorers and men in politics and government. Educational and religious personality traits and values were generally not stressed. Persons living in the latter half of either the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries received the most attention; little attention was given to twentieth-century persons.

Yielding (119) examined various editions of seven American history texts utilized during the period 1938-1966 to determine the treatment given "government involvement in the economy." A number of specifics such as changing attitudes toward Herbert Hoover and the Tennessee Valley Authority were noted. In recent texts, the New Deal is treated as an extension of earlier history. The investigator concluded that the majority of the textbooks examined failed to include recent historical insights regarding government involvement in the economy.

Dhand (24) employed quantitative content analysis techniques to determine the value orientation of eight representative seventh- and eighth-grade social studies textbooks prescribed for public schools of Saskatchewan from 1905 to 1965. Utilizing Lasswell's value framework and a percentage method to determine relative attention to particular value categories, Dhand determined that the values of wealth and power have consistently enjoyed the preeminent attention in these texts over the 60-year period, while the values of affection, skill, rectitude, and well-being have been largely neglected. None of the texts showed a balanced orientation of textual material with regard to all eight of Lasswell's social values.

The author concluded that a balanced orientation to these values is, therefore, a responsibility of the teacher.

In summary, each of the four studies concerned with particular aspects of social studies textbooks resulted in conclusions critical of textbooks for the way they performed certain tasks, i.e., treatment of social science concepts judged as important, reading content devoted to famous persons, treatment given to government involvement in the economy, and a balanced treatment of personal-social as well as achievement-oriented values.

Three studies were concerned with the selection of textbooks or reading materials for different purposes.

Willett (114) reported a five-phase method of selecting textual materials for school adoption. The method included the screening of available materials on the basis of curriculum alignment and other criteria. Experimental use of competing materials in classrooms yielded statistical data on pupil improvement. The teacher-users provided an additional input and a textbook committee provided a final evaluation. The four types of evaluative data were analyzed by a central office staff committee in order to reach an adoption decision.

As a major product of his review of 23 required or recommended state history textbooks in the eleven ex-confederate states, Bailey (6) devised an evaluation grid by means of which the biases of any textbook can be demonstrated. In his examination of the treatment of the Reconstruction Era in state history textbooks, Bailey identified four distinct interpretations and matched them with various topics drawn from the text under examination. A completed grid does not yield a judgment of "good or "bad" for a text, but it is a useful recording device that facilitates interpretations and judgments about a text.

Allbaugh (2) investigated relationships among the Dale-Chall *A Formula for Predicting Readability*, fact burden, and reading comprehension in selected social studies materials. The author concluded that the use of a reading formula to determine the ease of comprehension of social studies materials seems to be valid. However, she concluded that the use of fact burden, as conceived by Dolch, seems to have limitations for determining the ease of comprehension of social studies material.

Although the three studies concerned with the selection of instructional materials in the social studies seem to yield no unifying conclusion, they do suggest a growing concern that objective procedures provide the basis for decisions in social studies education.

Lowe (64) and Carp (13) were concerned with other factors that influence the tone and substance of instructional materials in the social studies. Lowe compared five current events periodicals prepared for secondary students with five adult news periodicals. Comparisons were made regarding objectivity, lack of dogmatism, and conservative-liberal bias. Judgments were made by a panel of high school and college teachers using a scheme prepared by the investigator. The classroom materials were not found to be different with respect to objectivity, conservatism, or dogmatism.

Carp surveyed 360 social studies teachers in Iowa concerning their perception of censorship pressures affecting their teaching. Political censorship, usually from well organized conservative and patriotic groups, was perceived primarily by teachers in large, urban schools. Teachers in rural settings perceived only sporadic and negligible pressures, usually from unorganized and low-financed religious groups. Rural teachers, however, practiced self-censorship reflecting a sensitive reading of the limits set by their communities.

Lowe and Carp found what similar studies have already established, that bias enters into the instructional process through the persons involved or through the materials produced or selected.

Six studies dealt with instructional materials organized as programmed instructional units. French (28) compared instructional outcomes using programmed units and a lecture method. In each of the two methods the materials consisted of Chinese and Japanese culture concepts. The writer found that knowledge gain was significantly higher using the programmed self-instruction method. He also found that attitude change was significantly higher when both programmed self-instruction and a lecture method were employed. Finally, efficiency, in terms of instruction time, was determined to be much higher for the programmed self-instruction groups than the lecture groups.

Stitt (101) demonstrated that sixth-grade pupils can learn to recognize warranted inductive and deductive inferences. A self-instructional program of ten 30-minute lessons was designed to provide instruction in warranted inferences. Utilizing pre- post-test data, Stitt found highly significant differences favoring the experimental group. He concluded that sixth-grade pupils can engage in inferential thinking at different cognitive levels and at various levels of task-difficulty.

Ryan (91) compared the effectiveness of involving

a teacher or teacher aide in a programmed instructional sequence in terms of fourth-grade pupil achievement scores. The programmed material dealt with the geography of Japan. When working with pupils, the teacher or teacher aide was instructed to read the question as printed, not to explain answers, and not to give cues. Significant post-treatment results were found for both treatments involving teachers when compared to the control, no instruction group. The teacher, but not the teacher aide, achieved significant results over the program alone treatment. The experimental treatments involving teachers were especially beneficial for below-the median readers.

Tiemann (105) employed programmatic techniques to refine a set of video tape recordings of a freshman economics course. When he compared student achievement, immediate posttest student performance favored the materials developed programmatically, while delayed posttest results favored specificity of instructional objectives. The results were interpreted to suggest that the expenditure of time and money on programmatic materials revision is questionable when behavioral objectives are provided and their use taught.

Tali (102) tested the feasibility of using programmed instruction in social studies. Posttest results indicated acceptable achievement for all students, although the programmed material was most successful with average or better students.

Pierleoni (84) reported that there were no differences found in high school students' political attitudes, general critical thinking ability, or degree of open or closed mindedness, as a result of the presentation of a programmed unit on American political philosophy. Item analyses of the three scales employed indicated that clusters of items in each of the three scales discriminated positively. Pierleoni concluded that the positively discriminating items tended to be closely related to the content of the programmed unit.

The six studies dealing with programmed instructional units each indicated that students can learn social studies content by programmed instruction. The studies also reveal important interactions among programmed instruction aspects and other educational variables.

ORGANIZING STAFF AND STUDENTS FOR INSTRUCTION

Seven studies in the realm of preparation for instruction are primarily concerned with factors that

are predominantly personal-social or human. These factors range from the outcomes of socioeconomic factors to the effects of particular teacher and student groupings for instruction.

Two studies investigated procedures and consequences related to team teaching in the social studies. Cottrell (17) examined team teaching in social studies in 118 selected North Central Association high schools. He found that most social studies team teaching plans were instigated by the teachers themselves to take better advantage of teacher skills, improve cooperation and instruction, and provide more preparation time. Most schedules included two large groups, two small groups, and one independent study period per week. Cottrell concluded that the main emphasis was most often on teacher and administrative benefits. Students too often were given inactive roles in large groups, were denied real discussion opportunities in small groups, and were allowed limited chance to develop independent projects. In a study that involved comparisons of pupils taught by team teaching and in self-contained classrooms, Brandt (10) found significant differences favoring the self-contained format.

Two studies investigated the effects of class size on learning in the social studies. Kelly (55) devised a split class and combined class arrangement under the leadership of a master teacher responsible for instruction in social studies and science. Four fifth-grade rooms containing 129 pupils were divided into eight split classes of 16 pupils each. Two combined classes of four split classes each were taught social studies and science by the master teacher who was also responsible for coordinating the work in all sections. The achievement of these pupils was compared to 229 pupils who comprised the regular program control group. No significant differences obtained on a variety of comparisons between the two groups. Most of the students and all the staff liked the coordinated program. Classroom instructors appreciated the cooperative planning and teaching activities and believed they were able to give more individual help to students.

Levin (61) attempted to ascertain the effects of class size in college classes of history and economics on retention, grades, absence, dropout, and attitude. Subjects were regular enrollees in evening courses offered by the University College of Rutgers. Large classes enrolled 80-120 students; small classes contained 25-35 students. Using gain scores Levin found no differences in retention, test scores, grades, absences, or dropouts attributable to class size. He

found that small classes promoted significantly better self-concept and better attitudes toward the courses and instructors.

The two studies indicated that changes in class size seem to have little or no effect on academic learning. However, changes in class size seem to affect the attitudes of persons toward factors in the instructional situation.

One investigator studied the effects of independent study on students and found them to be little different from the effects of conventional instructional methods in the social studies.

Alexander (1) found no significant differences in final achievement, study skills, and personality test scores for two groups of 20 eighth-grade students who were instructed by conventional or independent study techniques. The criteria were several common published tests. The results were interpreted as supporting independent study techniques on the basis that they were as effective as conventional methods.

One investigator studied educational provisions for low achievers in the social studies. Uphoff (108) questioned principals and teachers of selected high schools to determine the provisions being made for low achievers in senior high school social studies. Most of the schools practiced three-level grouping in required social studies courses, with one level being adapted to low achievers. Few schools had special classes in their elective offerings, however. Low-achiever sections were characterized by reduced vocabulary, pace, content, class size, and achievement expectations. Reading development and student interests were usually emphasized.

A related investigation assessed the social studies achievement of students from low income families. Davies (19) found that ninth-grade students in Kansas City Public Schools from low income families scored significantly lower on a standardized social studies achievement test than students from high income families. Low income students who went both to low income area elementary and junior high schools scored considerably lower on the test than those low income students who were able to continue their schooling at an economically diversified junior high school. Formal course work in specific test related subject matter did not necessarily result in higher scores for economically low or diversified groups.

In brief, it can be seen from the preceding studies concerned with the organization of staff and students for instruction that socioeconomic variables exert more profound influences on student achievement

than do the manipulation of classroom variables. Stated differently, it seems to be more difficult to influence school learning significantly than it is to organize persons for instruction in new ways.

ORGANIZING CONTENT FOR INSTRUCTION

Twenty-six studies were concerned with different ways of organizing content for instruction. The great majority of these studies were primarily interested in conceptual or analytic approaches to learning in the social studies. Two studies dealt with students' social science interests.

Green (35) investigated the social science interests of children in grades one through six. The determination of interests was structured by collecting questions elementary school children asked in informal situations. A professional committee categorized the questions under six areas. The areas were political science, anthropology, geography, economics, history, and sociology. Significant differences were found between the expressed interests of primary and intermediate students. Primary students preferred political science, while intermediate students preferred sociology questions. There were also significant differences between the expressed interests of boys and girls. Girls preferred sociology; boys preferred geography.

Grahlfs (34) found a positive relationship between pupil interest and learning and some evidence that teacher interest in a topic may critically affect pupil criterion test performance.

Although it is difficult to draw conclusions about students' social science interests on the basis of the two studies, there is some suggestion of a relationship between student interest and learning in the social studies. Further, one researcher states that there may be a relationship between teacher interest in a topic and student learning about that topic.

A number of studies were concerned with either the learning of specific social studies concepts or the use of concepts to structure learning segments or activities. In her identification of significant concepts for the understanding of Alaska, DeBoer (21) suggests that she has developed a useful method of determining what should be taught about a country or state. From authoritative sources in the social sciences, health, education, welfare, and the arts, DeBoer gleaned 165 important concepts basic to an understanding of Alaska. Through panel validation and numerical rating by an expert jury, she was able to rank individual concepts and groups of concepts

according to their contribution to that understanding. In this study concepts from anthropology, geography, and economics were judged most important and those from the arts least important.

Mugge (76) assessed first-graders' concepts in the disciplines of geography, political science, and economics as well as their concepts about time in relation to understanding history. The results reported provided evidence that first-grade children had considerable difficulty with many of the concepts they were asked about—concepts on time as well as concepts from the disciplines of geography, political science, and economics. These problems seemed to stem from the children's inability to do the kinds of thinking demanded in typical questions from the social sciences.

Sheridan (94) concluded that the children in his sample had a partial awareness of many geographic concepts. For a number of concepts, the children had a tendency to focus attention upon the striking features and to ignore other features which differentiate concepts from one another. Towler and Nelson (107) concluded that most children do not develop a concept of scale before the ages of ten or eleven.

It should be noted that the three studies concerned with either the geographical or cultural concepts presented to elementary school children indicate that these students experienced some difficulty in understanding the concepts.

Hunt (50) found that high school seniors who are exposed to economic concepts in a formal classroom situation acquire a significantly greater understanding of economics than do similar students who do not formally study the concepts.

David (18) investigated characteristics of teaching-learning situations that generate and develop children's ability to generalize. He reported that the teaching-learning situation which provided for the improvement of skills in problem solving also fostered significant growth in children's ability to generalize. He found also that active participation in the teaching-learning situation by students appeared to contribute to growth in generalizing ability but that textbook-centered situations did not.

Hunkins (49) studied literature advocating education for international understanding that had been produced in the United States since 1946. He uncovered three main referents for the term "international understanding." These are: attitudes of friendliness toward other peoples, knowledge of other cultures, and strategical wisdom. He concluded that a reconstructed position is needed so that the educational

activities prescribed are more directly related to the goal of peace. The new view would emphasize understanding the processes by which human associations evolve into human communities with common interests.

The three studies dealing with conditions under which students learn concepts, the ability to generalize, and social goals suggest that an active participant role which stresses processes seems to be more productive for student learning.

Three studies were concerned with the selection and application of social science generalizations to an expanding conception of communities. In each case the generalizations were utilized as a structure for studying basic human activities.

As one of the 21 researchers developing Phases I and II of the Stanford University curriculum project, LaMarche (56) selected 84 generalizations from the ten categories of basic activities developed in Phase I of the project. He then applied these to the understanding of the National Community, one of 11 expanding communities serving as the foci of Phase II studies. The 84 generalizations, judged to be crucial to the understanding of the United States as a national community, are structured in this study as elementary school social studies content. In a similar manner, Miller (73) selected and applied to the Atlantic community and Del Rosso (22) to the State community significant generalizations generated in Phase I. As in each of the other Phase II studies, these generalizations were structured as social studies content for elementary schools.

The next studies described, although concerned with conceptual approaches to learning in the social studies, seem to yield results that are so specific as to make correlation with other findings forced.

Biles (9) trained four teachers to analyze and code a sample of 1,200 activities that had been prepared by teachers to develop cognitive processes and skills in elementary pupils. The 1,200 activities were an integral part of a new social studies program built on a modified list of the 18 generalizations of the California State Central Committee for the Social Studies. Biles' analysis was coded for such cognitive processes as memory, deriving meaning, convergence, divergence, and evaluation. The analysis showed that the activities did not clearly reveal related processes or skills, did not provide for development at each grade level, and did not provide for increased higher cognitive processes at higher grade levels.

Taylor (103) was motivated to investigate student responses to social myths and fallacies about court-

ship, marriage, family, crime, delinquency, politics, and economics. Taylor gave his Myth and Fallacy Test to high school sophomores and seniors. He found that grade placement significantly affected student responses to social myths and fallacies. Also, comparison of mean test scores of these sophomores and seniors with a group of behavioral scientists produced significant differences between means.

Pierleoni (84) found that exposure to a unit on American political philosophy had little effect on high school students' political attitudes, general critical thinking ability, or degree of open or closed mindedness.

A number of investigators worked with conceptual approaches to the social studies. Neely (79) reoriented the study of military history around the development and retirement of major weapons; Petersen (83) developed a structure of cultural, geographic, and other concepts; and Meinhard (70) developed a structure for teaching American history based on important synoptic ideas. Johnson (53) endorsed an approach for structuring ideas around social science concepts and Buckley (12) tested two approaches to teach 20 generalizations—set diagrams and list tabulations. He concluded that the two approaches did not produce significantly different results in learning factual relationships by sixth-grade pupils.

Three writers investigated aspects of structured approaches to social studies curricula.

Gormick (33) found experimental support in a social studies context for Bruner's contention that structured curriculum approaches facilitate transfer of learning. The curriculum for an experimental group was built on five concepts drawn from each of six social science disciplines. A control group received conventional instruction. Two criteria were used, the *Stanford Achievement Test—Social Studies* and a specially prepared transfer test. Final evaluations revealed no significant differences for achievement, but very significant differences favoring the experimental group with the transfer task.

Wendel (112) theoretically devised a procedure for structurally examining a discipline and translating that structure into teaching strategies that directly involve students in experiencing and discovering the structure. Schlechty (92) suggests that the structure of society comprises a better organizational system for social studies than the structure of the discipline.

Although only one of the three studies treating structured approaches to social studies curricula actually produced data in support of structure, all three authors spoke favorably of the approach. Two

of the three researchers were more concerned with the nature of a particular structure than with testing the educational feasibility of that structure.

REFLECTIVE AND PROBLEM SOLVING APPROACHES

Three studies were interested in the effect of factors that teachers bring to the situation when teaching problem solving.

McCollum (69) secured dogmatism scores, Education Set Scale scores, and scores in various areas measured by the *Edwards Personal Preference Schedule* for prospective social studies teachers. He concluded that the high means achieved by all three student populations on the *Dogmatism Scale* indicated that they would encounter many problems in the use of the reflective method in teaching the social studies. McCollum also concluded that the two groups with a factual set would find it difficult to test hypotheses, conceptualize, generalize, and develop hypotheses. He believed that high education set scores achieved by the third group of students indicated some potential for success in using the reflective method. Finally, he found no overall predictors of success with the reflective method on the basis of scores derived from the *Edwards Personal Preference Schedule*.

Kardatzke (34) examined the effect of cultural-institutional and teacher influences on existing practices in teaching the social studies. He concluded that cultural-institutional and teacher characteristics had relatively little effect on most teacher practices. However, he found that teachers who had been teaching less than five years or who scored below the mean on Rokeach's *Dogmatism Scale* demonstrated a tendency to take a more moderate position on controversial issues than teachers with five or more years experience or teachers who scored above the mean on the *Dogmatism Scale*. Additionally, he found that teachers who took an extreme position on controversial issues tended to be more willing to introduce such issues into class discussions.

From a survey of Michigan teachers, Massialas, Sweeney, and Freitag (68) found grounds to question the popular contention that teachers are afraid of discussing controversial issues. They found that most teachers express a willingness to discuss most controversial issues. When topics are limited, pupil maturity, pertinency of topic, or personal reasons are given more often than administrative and community disapproval. Social studies teachers expressed more willingness to deal with controversial issues than did biology or English teachers. Male and older, experienced teachers were also more willing to deal with controversial issues. Of the teachers surveyed, social studies teachers spent the most time with controversial issues, but 87 percent of the teachers reported spending less than 25 percent of class time dealing with controversial issues.

Findings from two of the three studies indicate a possible relationship between reflective teaching style and dogmatism. High scores on dogmatism seem to be related to strong or immoderate reactions to issues. The findings also indicate that less than one-fourth of available class time is typically devoted to the treatment of controversial issues.

One study dealt with tendencies that high school students bring to the instructional situation relative to principles of democracy. Winn (116) hypothesized that students would indicate agreement with important general principles of democracy but would be unable to apply these principles consistently to cases. Winn constructed and administered an instrument on which students could record agreement or disagreement with general principles and could judge their application in cases. Students showed wide agreement with such freedoms as speech, religion, and press, and such rights as unbiased trials, when stated as generalities but dropped sharply in their ability to apply the principles to cases. Winn suggested that civic training in social studies fails to teach the functional meaning of political ideas.

CONDUCT OF INSTRUCTION

Studies perceived to be primarily concerned with the conduct of instruction were clustered under three sub-classifications: teaching for comprehension, teaching for higher cognitive outcomes, and teaching for affective outcomes. Studies classified under other rubrics are noted to the degree they relate to the concerns of instruction.

TEACHING FOR COMPREHENSION

Three groups of studies were found to relate to teaching for comprehension. The first group seeks to establish teacher behavior correlates of pupil success in learning. The second group of studies deals with concurrent education or attempts to achieve two sets

of goals simultaneously. The last group contains two unrelated studies. One deals with the utility of behaviorally stated objectives; the second with the relationship between verbal associations and pupil understanding of social science concepts.

The first group of studies deals with teacher correlates of pupil achievement. These studies have in common a learner performance criterion. In terms of the performance criterion, successful and unsuccessful teachers are identified and studied, usually from video-taped recordings. Thus, specific behaviors are identified that characterize the two categories of teachers.

Hiller, Fisher, and Kaess (16) taped a number of experienced social studies teachers who taught one or two prescribed lessons. Each lesson was video-taped and pupils were given a standardized content examination immediately following each lecture. Type-scripts were prepared for each lesson and analyzed by a computer in terms of five *a priori* factors: verbal fluency, optimal information amount, knowledge of structure cues, interest, and vagueness. For the first lesson, vagueness and verbal fluency accounted for 53 percent of the total variance. Two additional factors proved significant in the second lesson; information and interest accounted for 60 percent of the variance.

Rosenshine (88) compared presenting, or lecture behavior, of five effective and five less effective social studies teachers. Effectiveness was defined in terms of pupil achievement. In all, four categories of behavior were examined: linguistic, instructional set, presentation, and multivariant factors. Nine categories of linguistic characteristics were examined, e.g., word length, total number of words, and length and structure of independent clauses. Some support was found for the conclusion that effective presenters used words with fewer syllables, longer independent clauses, and more prepositional phrases. Successful teachers also used more words seen as relating to the topic question. Two classes of instructional set were studied: structuring set and focusing or arousing set. No differences in pupil achievement were attributable to instructional set. Nine presentation categories were used including: number of examples, organization of topic, use of enumeration, and breaks in speech. Two categories proved to significantly differentiate between the two teacher groups; they were rule and example pattern and teacher movement and gestures. Five categories were studied under multivariant factors. Of these, one, frequency of explaining links, was clearly significant.

Rosenshine (89) also analyzed three studies and

concluded that conventional methods for assessing difficulty or readability were not adequate. Using learner achievement as a criterion, passages found comparable by conventional measures were found to differ significantly. Detailed analysis produced five promising variables: vagueness, explaining links, examples, rule and example patterns, and irrelevancy.

Whimill (113) analyzed the statistical relationship of student achievement on convergent and divergent types of questions to a plethora of student and teacher variables. The investigator found that student IQ was the most important factor affecting achievement on both convergent and divergent questions. He also found that students have more success on convergent questions if their teachers tend to devote more time to lecturing and recitation. Students have more success on divergent questions if their teachers feel that the greatest impact on learning comes from student interaction and interaction between students and teachers.

In a study already detailed, Buckley (12) found no significant differences between sixth-grade pupils taught factual material as lists or as sets. A trend favoring the use of sets was found. Programed texts were used to present the lessons.

In the second group of studies relating to teaching for comprehension, two studies, already discussed, involved the idea of concurrent learning. Clark (14) demonstrated that economics understandings could be learned from the copy used during typewriting practice. Murphy (77) demonstrated the feasibility of teaching inquiry, or critical thinking, as a part of advanced audio-lingual foreign language instruction. In each of these studies, the investigator sought to teach an important, but secondary, cognitive goal as a consequence of a prepared practice program. Perhaps other opportunities for concurrent education exist in school programs.

In the third category of studies involving teaching for comprehension, one study was found which demonstrated the utility of behavioral objectives in encouraging content comprehension and one was found dealing with verbal associations. Tiemann's (105) work has already been presented in detail. The point to be noted here is that once the university students realized the relationship between the behaviorally stated objectives and examination success, their test performance exceeded that of students who were supposedly better taught. Gardner and Johnson (29) studied seventh-grade students using materials prepared by the Project Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at the University of Minnesota.

The authors attempted to describe the way in which language habits, as indexed by verbal associations, are related to the representation of social science subject matter. The data in this study suggest that an associative model may be useful in describing some of the capabilities which students have with respect to social science concepts. The language habits of children studying social science concepts changed during the course of the study in a direction which was appropriate to the subject-matter model employed.

TEACHING FOR HIGHER COGNITIVE OUTCOMES

Not surprisingly, a number of studies dealt with teaching for higher cognitive outcomes. These will be presented in the familiar three part—antecedents, transactions, and outcomes—format. In this case, however, no studies were judged to deal primarily with outcomes.

Antecedents. Two studies were judged to deal primarily with antecedent conditions for achieving higher cognitive outcomes. The first is a conceptual study that deals with teacher explaining behavior, and the second with questions planned by teachers for class discussions and examinations.

Wehlag (111) hypothesized that the teacher of history's selection of objectives and subject matter is related to his understanding of alternative views of explanation. Two categories of explanation were discussed—scientific and ordinary—with each category having several identified sub-types. Scientific explanations involved a principle and considered specific events in terms of the principle. Ordinary explanations often depend on a recounting of antecedent events or an examination of the motives of the principals. A teacher should select a mode of explanation consistent with his goals for a given segment of instruction.

Tinsley (106) investigated the cognitive level of questions planned for use in discussions and examinations by a population of 67 eighth- and eleventh-grade social studies student teachers. The student teachers were given a specific topic and asked to plan a discussion or test for either an eighth- or eleventh-grade class. He found that eleventh-grade teachers planned more questions to guide discussion than for examination, and that for both eighth- and eleventh-grade teachers, memory and evaluative questions were most popular.

Transactions. A number of ingenious techniques were used by the following investigators to achieve higher cognitive outcomes.

Millett (74) experimentally compared the effectiveness of four teacher training procedures designed to increase social studies pupils' translation behavior. Translation behavior was defined as "pupil statements about the meanings of written words." Teachers were trained in one of four treatments: (a) unstructured discussions (b) oral instruction (c) demonstration and (d) oral instruction plus demonstration. In terms of observed pupil behavior, oral instruction and demonstration were equally effective. Unstructured discussion was significantly less effective, and the combined treatment was significantly more effective.

Ryan (90) investigated the effect of test anxiety and advanced organizers on the achievement of 88 fourth-grade California pupils studying the geography of Japan. Advanced organizers are constructs familiar to the pupils which have some utility in acquiring new learnings. In this case, established knowledge of California's geography was used as a source of advanced organizers. Four experimental treatments were used: initial and daily presentation of advanced organizers, initial presentation of advanced organizers, daily presentation of advanced organizers, and no use of advanced organizers. Achievement was assessed through the use of a multiple-choice examination covering specific facts, generalizations, and application of learnings regarding the geography of Japan. Sarason's *Test Anxiety Scale for Children* was used to assess levels of anxiety. Instruction consisted of five programmed tests administered on succeeding days along with the appropriate experimental treatment. Covariance analysis with reading and language skills as the covariants was used in the analysis. The investigator found that the use of advanced organizers positively and significantly affected achievement scores. Anxiety levels did not affect achievement, but high anxiety pupils took longer to complete the lessons. There were no significant interactions between the use of advanced organizers and anxiety levels.

Cooper (16) tried to determine if a series of eight lessons over an equal number of days could establish a student set to perform characteristically on a final examination. Seven social studies classes were given daily reading material on money and banking. Half the students in each class were given daily quizzes stressing lower order knowledge and half were given quizzes judged to measure higher order knowledge according to Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. On the ninth day students were given their quiz papers to review for the final examination. On

the tenth day the final examination, consisting of 24 new lower order questions and 24 new higher order questions, was administered. Neither of Cooper's hypotheses were accepted. Lower and higher order sets were not reflected in better performances on related parts of the examination and students having the benefit of higher order quiz items did no better on the total examination. Cooper suggested that the difficulty of the material, boredom with the replicative tactics, unfamiliarity with higher order items, a traditional set for lower order learning, contamination of treatment groups, and too short a treatment could explain the failure of his hypotheses.

Beleff (7) investigated whether a student's potential ideational fluency ability could be fostered through various ways of organizing materials and the use of social studies content. He found that the use of brainstorming and questioning methods, the use of materials with greater structure, and the use of social studies subject matter seemed to be effective in fostering the development of potential ideational fluency. He concluded that a general instructional model to foster ideational fluency seems to be practical.

Three studies discussed elsewhere included aspects dealing with teaching for higher cognitive outcomes. The first is Hardy (39) who found that sixth-grade pupils participating in an actual archaeological dig out-performed conventionally taught pupils on a final examination designed to measure knowledge of concepts, generalizations, and principles. Stitt (101) used a self-instruction program to teach sixth-graders to recognize warranted inductive and deductive inferences. Whitmill (113) identified a relationship between teachers' use of lecture and recitation or discussion techniques and convergent or divergent pupil thinking.

Problem solving is a form of higher cognitive process of particular interest to social studies specialists. Four studies dealt with transactional aspects of problem solving in some fashion.

Merritt (71) found that sixth-grade pupils could easily understand controversial social issues presented in story form. He developed story versions involving sixth-graders on each of five controversial issues. Care was taken to present both sides of the issues. A multiple-choice test was developed to measure pupil comprehension of concepts, opinions, reasons and motives, rights and duties of individuals and groups, and finally, comprehension of analogous situations. The materials were tested on fifth-, sixth-, seventh-, and ninth-grade pupils. The investigator concluded

from an analysis of pupil test results that sixth-grade pupils could deal with controversial social issues.

Parts of the studies of David (18) and Murphy (77) dealt with transactional aspects of problem solving. David found that students' ability to generalize was associated with improvement in problem solving skills. Murphy worked with the idea that critical thinking could be taught concurrently with advanced audio-lingual instruction.

Each of the three studies reported positive aspects of reflectively oriented teaching. Sixth-grade pupils can deal effectively with controversial issues; active student participation increases the ability to generalize; and thought questions can stimulate inquiry.

Outcomes. Four studies were concerned with the effects of a reflective or problem solving approach to teaching. In two of the four cases both teacher and student behavior was recorded and analyzed.

Lewis (62) collected observational data from a number of fifth-grade social studies teachers. The observations were analyzed by criteria derived by the investigator from Dewey's theory of reflective thinking. She found the problems approach used in all classrooms. Problems were initiated by pupils and by teachers. Problems tended to arise from subject matter considerations and teacher questions tended to guide class consideration. Texts and maps were the primary sources of information, and little effort was spent in evaluating data. Solutions tended to be judgments of teachers and were not tested. Children and groups did not consider problems independently. Reflective processes were not discussed with the pupils by the teacher.

Lee (60) taught an ungraded group of 45 pupils representing grades seven, eight, and nine by a method emphasizing an eight-step operational model of problem solving for one semester. A matched control group was taught by a method emphasizing factual information. A number of published tests were used to provide pre- and posttest data. Lee concluded that students can be taught problem solving skills without the loss of factual achievement, but that students who have not had previous problem solving instruction will not show gains in these skills without instruction. Students who have had prior problem solving instruction will continue to use these skills without continued instruction. Prior instruction in inquiry skills, continuous practice, and special materials are factors in the improvement rate of students being taught by an inquiry method.

Massialas, Freitag, and Sweeney (67) developed a system of categories for analyzing classroom discus-

sion of social issues. From an earlier study a population of 19 teachers who dealt with social controversy was identified. These teachers were taped and transcripts were prepared. An analytical system was then prepared that: (a) included all verbal transactions, (b) had clear and mutually exclusive categories, (c) focused on cognitive aspects of classroom interaction, (d) used discrete intellectual operations as the unit coded, and (e) provided for position taking.

On the assumption that beliefs of American students are contradictory in many areas, Anthony and Barnard (4) constructed and validated by expert judgment the *Contradiction Inventory*, an instrument consisting of 51 pairs of contradictory statements. Each pair of statements was judged to fit into one of Hunt and Metcalf's six closed areas. The *Inventory* was administered to 160 selected ninth- and twelfth-grade students after a satisfactory level of reliability was established. Anthony and Barnard found no significant differences in the responses of the ninth- and twelfth-grade students, the average student contradicting himself 20 times in 51 opportunities. They concluded that no part of the high school curriculum, including that designed to teach critical thinking, lessens contradictions between ninth- and twelfth-grade.

The four studies concerned with the outcomes of reflectively oriented teaching indicate mixed results. Although there is some evidence to support the view that students can be taught problem solving skills, there is also evidence to support the conclusion that the social studies curriculum has little effect on the problem solving skills of students. As evidenced by these several studies, researchers are continuing their interest in classroom problem solving behavior.

TEACHING FOR AFFECTIVE OUTCOMES

A number of studies dealt with affective considerations. These have been grouped under the sub-classifications of antecedents, transactions, and outcomes.

Antecedents. Four studies were judged to involve antecedent considerations for attaining affective outcomes. The first two are primarily concerned with the topic; the second pair received extended treatment elsewhere.

Hills (47) presented a much needed attempt to meld the taxonomies of the cognitive and affective domains. He reasoned that cognitive goals can be taught with little attention to affective considerations, but that the reverse was not true. Affective goals have cognitive referents. In general, he held that consideration of cognitive material can be ex-

panded into consideration of the values underlying alternatives and decisions.

Nease (78) analyzed indoctrination and its relation to democratic education within the historical and social context of American public education. The writer concluded that most prominent educational thinkers in the United States have not faced up to what significance democracy has for educational practice. He also concluded that the real crux of the indoctrination issue rests upon what one means by democracy. If the nature of democracy denotes the prescription of myths, dogmas, convictions, or absolutes, then indoctrination in American schools would seem compatible with a similarly closed governmental system. If, on the other hand, democracy specifies a process or method of making decisions, then it would seemingly follow that prescriptions of commitments should not be tolerated in the schools.

Dhand (24) concluded that popular Canadian texts over the last 60 years stressed the values of wealth and power to the detriment of the other categories of Lasswell's social values. Lowe (64) concluded that weekly newspapers intended for use in social studies current events programs were no more or less objective, conservative, or dogmatic than an equal number of adult news periodicals.

Transactions. One study, Fisher (26), dealt with means of achieving affective outcomes. He investigated the effect of three experimental treatments on fifth-grade pupil attitudes toward American Indians. The treatments were: reading selections from children's literature, reading plus class discussion, and no treatment. Change scores on an attitude scale constructed by the investigator served as the criterion. He found that reading plus discussion produced significant positive differences when compared to the reading alone group. The reading alone group demonstrated significant superiority over the control group. The attitudes of Negro pupils changed more than did the attitudes of Caucasians.

Outcomes. Four studies dealt with the effects of schooling on values. The data are not clear, but a general pattern of increased liberalism with increased education seemed to emerge. There was some question, however, concerning the role of schooling *per se* as the source of the observed change.

Jennings and Niemi (51) re-examined original data gathered by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The authors take issue with the widely accepted developmental model which suggests that almost all of political socialization occurs in the elementary school years. They report that

some changes in political orientation do occur in the high school years. Additionally, the authors stated that there is strong presumptive evidence that the frequency of politically related activities rises during the secondary school years.

Garrison (30) explored the relationship between knowledge of United States history and civic beliefs. Tests were given to 392 sixth-grade pupils, 337 ninth-grade pupils, and 230 twelfth-grade pupils to measure their knowledge of history and their civic beliefs on a liberalism-conservatism scale. Garrison found that students became more liberal as they progressed through school. Those scoring in the top quarter on the history test were more liberal than those in the lowest quarter. Garrison assumed that the social studies program affected students' civic beliefs. Garrison also found that high scores on the history test correlated positively with high scores on other achievement and intelligence measures used in the study. He supposed this inter-correlation could be related to some general factors such as maturity or experience.

Lane (57) studied the effect of college on a student's political outlook. He concluded that although college students in general increase in liberalism and decrease in ethnocentrism, their liberalism and tolerance wane as they grow older. He also associates these changes, not to an exploration of issues, but rather to an exploration of social relationships and social payoffs.

Sherman (95) administered an instrument to 37 seniors at Colorado State College to examine their perception of value changes precipitated by their uninterrupted four year career at the school. The instrument described six value areas: theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. It purported to measure the extent of their attachment to these values both as seniors and as freshmen. In general, these students did not perceive the college experience as being a contributing factor in the development of their values and they did not perceive any significant changes in their values during their college years.

THE PREPARATION OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

As in past years, a number of investigators were interested in the preparation of social studies teachers. These studies have been grouped under the three headings of antecedents, transactions, and outcomes.

Antecedents. A number of investigators were concerned about the amount of subject course work that was included in the academic preparation of social studies teachers. Groenhoff (36) concluded that teachers of new geography curricula will require course work in that subject. Veltkamp (109) surveyed social studies teachers in the three state area of Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota and came up with a similar conclusion. In a survey of ninth-grade Colorado civics teachers, Hickenbottom (12) found that 18 percent had no credit in political science and that the rest had very little formal preparation. Lomis (63) found that only the larger Texas high schools had teachers with graduate work in the social sciences. Hainsworth (38) concluded that half of the teachers in his sample were not qualified to teach about communism. Moore (73) came to a similar conclusion regarding the qualifications of Texas high

school teachers to teach about the American free enterprise system. Anderson (3) surveyed Idaho teachers with comparable results.

A lesser number of investigators examined the relationship between teacher course preparation and either teacher knowledge or pupil achievement. In the first category are the studies of Hicks (43) and Pankey (80). Hicks sought relationship between a number of factors, including course work and teacher knowledge of English history. He found that only recency and number of years spent in teaching world history correlated with a criterion test of knowledge. Pankey tested the economics understanding of two groups of West Virginia teachers, one group having attended an economic education workshop. He found no significant differences between the groups.

Potterfield (86) compared the test scores of pupils taught by a teacher with preparation in anthropology with the scores of pupils taught by a regular teacher. He found no significant differences. Hering (41) made a similar comparison from data produced during a nationwide trial of materials produced by

Sociological Resources for the Social Studies. He also found no pupil differences attributable to teacher preparation in sociology.

One study, Lavender (59), attempted to determine the degree to which superintendents could select successful teachers through consideration of credentials. He also sought to determine whether undergraduate grade-point averages would have a significant correlation with the success of classroom teachers. The investigator found that experienced superintendents could predict successful teacher activities outside the classroom better than successful teacher activities within the classroom. He also found that undergraduate grade-point averages were negatively related to evaluations of success as classroom teachers.

Transactions. Three studies dealt with procedures for teacher preparation. The first looked at New York City Schools' teacher orientation practices, the second considered an in-service program to prepare teachers to work with Mexican-Americans, and the last dealt with increasing teacher non-directedness.

Malament (66) evaluated common orientation practices used with beginning social studies teachers. The evaluative instrument used was especially developed for the project and was based on a survey of the views of new social studies teachers. A number of serious problems were identified by the survey including the burden of clerical work, lesson planning, and adjustment to slow and disadvantaged learners. Orientation practices found most helpful were conferences with department chairmen, clerical assistance, assistance with discipline, and reduced teaching loads. Bulletins, guides, meetings with principals, and social events were considered less valuable. Emphases of actual orientation programs generally followed the teachers' hierarchy of priorities.

Brandt (10) experimentally compared the effectiveness of an in-service teacher training program in helping teachers use a new language development curriculum with first-grade Mexican-Americans. The experimental group was compared to three control groups. The first control group followed the district curriculum with a team teaching organization. The second control group used the experimental language arts program in a self-contained classroom. The third control group featured the regular curriculum taught in the self-contained format. The criterion was pupil scores on published tests of readiness and achievement. Multiple linear regression techniques were used to analyze the pre-post scores. Some significant differences were found favoring the experimental

group when compared to the first and second control groups. Significant differences favoring the third control group were also found. The adequacy of the measures was questioned.

Cockrum (15) used the Flanders system to observe two groups of student teachers. One group participated in the INSITE program while the second was associated with INSITE, but was not involved in all phases. INSITE student teachers were found to be less directive and teachers of social studies were found less directive than science teachers. Significant individual variation in directedness was found over observations. Cooperating teachers were found to place little stress on interaction patterns when making their evaluations.

Outcomes. Three studies placed primary stress on the outcomes of teacher preparation programs. One compared certificated and non-certificated teachers. A second looked at the development of a professional outlook, and the third examined understanding of teacher practices.

Sears (93) failed to find significant differences between professionally and provisionally certified beginning social studies and English teachers on measures of role expectancies, self-concept, personal and professional characteristics, attitudes toward education, or on ratings by pupils and classroom observers. He did find more satisfaction with teaching among the professionally certified teachers and teaching was more often their first career choice.

Pendergast (82) found that the beginning social studies teachers in his study held a tenuous career commitment and had an unclear definition of their roles as teachers. Social studies student teachers at Ohio State University who later became full-time teachers were the subjects of this study. Pendergast prepared a questionnaire that forced subjects to project their perceptions of real and ideal relationships among teachers, students, colleagues, administrators, board members, and parents. Responses were analyzed in terms of four teacher roles: (a) director of learning, (b) functionary in an authority system, (c) member of an occupational group, and (d) mediator of values. The subjects filled out the questionnaire as student teachers and later as first-year teachers. Changes occurred in all the relationships and in all the categories of teacher roles except some aspects of mediator of values. The greatest role changes occurred in the functionary and occupational member categories.

Godwin (32) surveyed a sample of 190 Nebraska el-

elementary teachers regarding their preparation for, understanding of, and practices in teaching social studies materials. He found that less than half of his sample had bachelor degrees, had instruction in teaching social studies since 1960, or defined social studies in the same terms as leaders in the field.

Three-fourths of his sample taught social studies as a separate subject. About half made some reference to social studies objectives as reported in the literature. The sampled teachers reported heavy reliance on the textbook, reporting few activities and the use of few additional resources.

MISCELLANEOUS

A number of studies defy efforts at categorization. That judgment does not imply any further judgment of the worth of these pieces of research or of their importance to the profession. It says simply that within the framework composed, i.e., curriculum, instruction, and teacher preparation in social studies, it was not possible to describe these studies as being antecedents, transactions, or outcomes. In this review these statements were grouped as miscellaneous studies, deserving of attention, but unclassifiable under these rubrics.

Two studies examined problems related to social studies education in foreign countries. Stinchcombe (100) investigated differences among the traditional middle classes in Chile, Argentina, and Venezuela. He concluded that the Chileans learn democratic values from their political system, but the Argentines and Venezuelans do not. Stinchcombe explains these results with the view that the longer democracy lives, the more adequately it teaches men to live in a democracy. He claims that the principal factors in political socialization of the middle classes are the schools, the nature of the economy, and the political system itself.

Millat (72) reviewed the literature of curriculum theory and concluded that any program to revise the social studies curriculum of Pakistan should include specialists in the social sciences, curriculum, psychology, and teaching.

Two studies dealt with aspects of citizenship education. Armitage (5) found that estimates of pupil citizenship by 28 suburban Colorado fifth-grade social studies teachers correlated moderately with grades, but that pupil IQ proved to be a better predictor. The importance assigned to specific citizenship behaviors by experts and teachers was determined through a Q sort. He found that single teachers and childless married teachers placed less stress on citizenship factors than did other categories of teachers.

Vernick (110) adapted criteria from French's *Be-*

havioral Goals in General Education in High School to construct instruments specifically to evaluate Detroit's traditional Boys' Day activities. On the basis of responses from participants, sponsors, and high school leaders, he inferred that such activities could be valuable in teaching the process of government.

Two historical studies traced specific influences on the social studies curriculum. In the more general of these, Hiner (48) traced the role of history and the social sciences in school curriculums from the late 1800's to the present. Part of the reciprocal interest in expanding these subjects in schools depended on the willingness of scholars to accept citizenship as the primary objective of their discipline, and the acceptance by educators that history and social science were necessary to citizenship. Historians were able to maintain this accommodation, but social science scholars became unwilling to continue to justify their disciplines to both traditional and reform groups of educators of the early 1900's. By 1920, history and the social sciences were being used as instruments of reform in the school curriculum, but largely on the terms of the educators.

The American Federation of Labor has a long history of support for public education in the United States dating from its beginning in 1881, according to the research findings of DeRolf (23). In particular, labor has viewed social studies as the core of the secondary program and has sought the inclusion of labor-management relations in the social studies curriculum. An extensive investigation in 1923 resulted in requests for improved treatment of labor in social studies textbooks. Labor supported the basic tenets of the experimentalists as reflected in the tenets of the Progressive Education Association, especially student centrality, citizenship education, and rational problem solving.

By questionnaire, Wroblewski (118) investigated curriculum content and trends, block-time programs, special administrative arrangements and problems, and principals' views of strengths and weaknesses of

junior high schools. Out of an identified universe of 12,390 junior and junior-senior high schools in the United States, he randomly polled 2,274 schools in categories of size and structure.

Wroblewski found that enrollment percentages in English, mathematics, science, and foreign language have increased since 1949 while they have decreased in social studies and practical and fine arts. He attributes these changes partially to the influences of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the National Science Foundation. More than a quarter of the schools conducted block-time programs usually comprised of language arts and social studies. About 12 percent of the schools used team teaching and nearly three-fourths of the schools employed ability grouping. Only 3.6 percent were trying a nongraded

organizational structure. Junior high school principals expressed considerable concern with the structure and curriculum of the junior high school. Wroblewski believes that some of this concern reflects public pressure for fixed standards in the school.

As the final research reported in this review, the influential career of Edgar Bruce Wesley was the subject of a biographical study by Heiss (40). Wesley's position as a major link between social scientists and historians and educators and social studies specialists is emphasized. His long career as teacher, social studies curriculum and methods expert, and builder of professional organizations, e.g., The National Council for the Social Studies, is documented and appreciatively detailed.

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RESEARCH REVIEW FOUR

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Review of Research in Social Studies: 1967

by C. BENJAMIN COX, WILLIAM D. JOHNSON,
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THE research reviewed in this article includes most of the published and some unpublished works appearing since the 1966 review by Girault and Cox (29). With a few exceptions, the reported research appeared in the calendar year 1967. To be included, the work either had to involve a question of interest to social studies teachers or employ a sample of pupils enrolled in social studies subjects. For the most part, only works involving the collection of data were included; consequently, many fine conceptual pieces were necessarily excluded.

There are several inherent problems in preparing a general survey of research. Most studies deal with a variety of issues making it difficult for the reviewers to decide what should be included and what should be emphasized for an audience of such catholic interests as the readership of *Social Education*. A related problem is that of format. The authors have continued the organization format used in previous reviews of this series. Borrowed from Gross and Badger (33), the format has four first order headings of "Curriculum," "Instruction," "Measurement and Evaluation," and "The Social Studies Teacher." Many social studies research projects, however, deal with issues that cut across two or more of these headings making any classification difficult and sometimes arbitrary.

Another set of problems revolves around a heavy reliance on *Dissertation Abstracts* as the major source of social studies research. Ideally, the serious reviewer would obtain copies of the dissertations themselves and work from original sources, but this procedure is prohibitively costly in both money and time. Since research reported in the *Abstracts* is already between one and two years old when it

reaches the shelves of the library, we chose to follow the easier precedent of earlier reviewers in using the *Abstracts*.

Two specific problems attend this dependency on *Dissertation Abstracts*. The first relates to the probable accuracy of many of our reviews which are, in fact, abstracts of abstracts. The second relates to the increased difficulty of judging the adequacy of research design and methodology. Abstracts deal primarily with the rationale, findings, and conclusions of research and give only slight attention to methodology and design. As a result, we have made no effort to evaluate the method and design of the several studies. Instead we have attempted to present a concise and coherent survey of the major findings and conclusions of reported social studies research. The survey was designed to meet the interests and needs of a wide variety of readers. Persons with more specialized interests will still have need to refer to the original works.

CURRICULUM

Of the 27 research studies judged to be dealing with the social studies curriculum, 25 were primarily descriptive in nature and two were classified as comparison studies. Moreover, of the 25 descriptive studies, 18 were concerned with types of knowledge contained in the social studies curriculum. In consequence, the majority of studies reported in this section on curriculum will be descriptions of what the social studies curriculum is at various grade levels and in different locales.

Elementary curriculum. Leef (50) explored the effects at 20-year intervals that basic social forces have had on the elementary social studies curriculum and possible effects that this curriculum might have had on society. She found that the elementary social studies curriculum has reflected broad changes in the social, political, and economic patterns in the country, but has not directly promoted a critical attitude toward society. However, the el-

ementary curriculum in social studies has progressively gained in applicability to life situations.

Anderson (3) derived a list of 213 common topics from more than 100 elementary social studies textbooks. From a total of some 8,000 supplementary books recommended by textbook authors as contributing to an understanding of these common topics, Anderson compiled a bibliography of 2,493 titles that met his criteria of literary quality and usefulness. Recommendations in literary reviews and designations in *Children's Catalog* were used as bases for his critical judgments. Anderson suggests that his categorized and annotated bibliography can aid schools in supplying high-quality enrichment sources in elementary social studies for pupils at all reading levels.

Chew (9) analyzed 19 second-grade social science textbooks to determine the amount of content relevant to the *Social Studies Framework for the Public Schools of California* (State Curriculum Commission, 1962) and to assess the cognitive levels of the material as judged with reference to Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. Both textual and nontextual material was analyzed using the sentence as the unit of measure. The inclusion of a key concept was the primary means of judging a sentence relevant to a generalization in the *California Framework*. Chew found five books without a single sentence conceptually relevant to any generalization in the *Framework*. Some books, however, demonstrated relevance in 74 percent of the textual material and 93 percent of the nontextual material. History received the most attention with some conceptual content in 13 books, but in only one or two books did the textual or nontextual material exceed 50 percent. Most of the relevant content was presented at the "knowledge" or lowest level of the taxonomy. Chew concluded that the primary social studies teacher must seek sources other than standard textbooks to present information of higher cognitive levels.

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Ahmed (1) compared the intermediate grade social studies curriculum materials prepared prior to 1945 and after 1955 for use in 12 representative school systems in the United States on the basis of their contribution to international understanding. The compared points of emphasis, relating to objectives, content, activities, and resources relevant to international understanding, were developed with reference to other social studies curriculum materials, UNESCO recommendations, governmental and nongovernmental agency recommendations, and points of view of authorities. Ahmed's investigation indicated that after 1955 relatively more concern was placed on current world problems, international organizations, and critical thinking in these 12 school systems. The trend toward influencing students in the direction of "world citizenship" in social studies materials actually began gradually after World War I. Ahmed recommended the development of an international understanding attitude scale for elementary students and a further survey of actual school practices and existing materials on international understanding available to elementary schools.

Schomburg (68) examined fourth- and sixth-grade geography textbooks adopted by the state of Texas for the school year 1964-65 to determine the extent to which each presented and reinforced nine basic geographic concepts identified by the National Council for Geographic Education. The investigator made a paragraph-by-paragraph analysis of each text, including teachers' manuals and recommended student activities. Introductory and prefatory statements were not found to be indicative of the actual conceptual structure of the texts. He found that the basic concepts were little emphasized as judged by the space devoted to them; nor were the basic concepts presented systematically, usually being introduced as declarative or descriptive statements. Principles of cartography were the most neglected. Schomburg recommended an emphasis on conceptual development in instructional materials and specific teacher education for geography.

Leigh (51) concluded that the developmental task material analyzed in a sample of textbooks was insufficient for the mastery of developmental tasks.

His analysis utilized an original evaluative scheme applied to seven authoritatively identified developmental tasks appropriate for middle childhood. In general, the task material was rated "good" on a good, fair, poor scale, but the distribution of material dealing with developmental tasks was judged to be uneven and unsystematic.

Four studies were concerned with either the knowledge or the attitudes that children bring to course content prior to instruction. Goldstein (30) examined the concept development of 87 entering first graders relative to 23 landforms and waterforms, such as mountains, lakes, deserts, and peninsulas. A picture identification test was developed to determine the extent of concept development; the depth of concepts was investigated through individual interviews. Goldstein found that first graders enter school with some incorrect information, but more information about landscape features than is commonly expected. They verbalize about them less easily than they are able to identify them in picture form, however. These concepts, which concern a much larger environment than the children's home and school community, are affected by "quality" travel exposure and television. He recommended that the content of social studies programs for beginning students should be extended to accommodate the students' increased information. Concept identification and development processes are needed for both young students and their teachers.

The purpose of Penner's (61) study was to determine the extent to which fourth-grade children were familiar, at the beginning of the school year, with selected geographical concepts usually taught in fourth-grade social studies. Ten current editions of social studies textbooks were examined and only those concepts which appeared in at least four of the textbooks were used in preparing items for a survey test. The test instrument consisted of 50 multiple-choice items and was administered to a representative sample of 491 fourth-grade children in the states of Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming. There were no significant differences in the average scores by states. It was concluded that fourth-grade children are likely to know almost half of the concepts in the typical

social studies program before these concepts are taught in the classroom.

Johnson (46) tested 176 sixth-grade children on their knowledge of generalizations concerning sub-Saharan Africa taken from 22 recently published children's books. The test instrument was based on 32 generalizations that fit categories in *A Guide to Content in the Social Studies*, published by the National Council for the Social Studies. The generalizations paralleled the opinions of a group of Peace Corps Volunteers and African nationals on the problems and needs of African people. In addition, the selected generalizations were judged by a panel of scholars as essential to an understanding of Africa. The public school population was comprised of a selected mixture of socioeconomic and racial groups in Kalamazoo and Detroit. Johnson found that middle- and upper-middle-class children did better on the test than those in lower socioeconomic groups. White children did better than Negro children and girls did better than boys within class strata.

Schnepf (67) investigated the attitudes of Negro children from segregated neighborhoods in grades 2, 4, 6, and 8 toward police, law, and freedom. Positive and negative categories were established for the various interview questions and the police, identified as the major authority figure in the study, were evaluated on function, performance, and children's identification with the role. Attitudinal data were analyzed relative to age-grade levels, sex, and family stability. Schnepf found a negative trend with age in attitudes toward police and freedom up through the sixth grade. All grades were positive toward the law, and the eighth grade showed a significant positive attitude toward freedom. Schnepf suggested a need to reconsider citizenship education in view of the generally negative attitudes that Negro children hold toward important authority figures in political socialization.

Secondary curriculum. Several studies conducted in this country and abroad describe current issues, emphases, contents, and modes of inquiry in the social studies curriculum, and identify specific problem areas related to the secondary level. Caruthers (6) assessed the treatment of American history by *Social Education* on the basis of 32 articles appearing from 1955

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through 1965. He found three basic issues in curriculum and methodology running through the articles: (a) the relationship between history and the social sciences; (b) the struggle between curricular goals emphasizing needs, problems, and citizenship and those emphasizing academic disciplines; and (c) the arguments over methodologies most appropriate to the two alternative curricular goals. The 31 articles seemed to accept the prominence of history in the social studies curriculum but supported changes that would more nearly balance the presentation of historical and social science materials.

Ducharme (18) surveyed the writings of Charles A. Beard and concluded that Beard's thinking "began with two strong commitments: the need for citizenship training, and the importance of the methods and nature of the social studies disciplines." The author traced Beard's commitment to citizenship education to his understanding of the historic function of American schools. Beard's commitment to the disciplines of social studies was traced to his belief in their inherent unity. Beard's view of content was likened to contemporary curricular formations emphasizing the concept of structure.

Dorow's (17) systematic review of official Pennsylvania courses of study, recommended textbooks, and the courses of study of 14 selected local school districts for the ninth grade led him to the conclusion that there was general agreement between the objectives of state courses of study and instructional materials for the 40-year period, 1925-1965. He noted some discrepancy between official goals and materials used by school districts during the 1930's, however. He observed that curricular change is currently in progress, but that the direction is hard to ascertain because it is taking place at the local level. Ninth-grade curricular change in social studies has increasingly emphasized civics and government, the introduction of world cultures, and American history.

Wood (82) surveyed four aspects of social studies education in Missouri in rural, urban, and suburban demographic contexts. The aspects were course offerings over the last 20 years, curricular changes 1960-1965, training of social studies teachers, and instruc-

tional media. Data were gathered through questionnaires, interviews, review of official state records, and screening of the college records of teacher education students. He concluded that the most popular required and elective social studies courses were similar in each of the three demographic contexts. Suburban pupils took more social studies courses, however, and were taught by younger teachers. Wood found that Missouri schools rarely undertook intensive curriculum development projects. Instead, curricular revisions were generally made by adding new non-history offerings at the twelfth grade. Since 1945, world history, psychology, American history, citizenship, and economics have enjoyed the greatest growth in enrollment. The instructional method most often employed in all schools was teacher centered.

Zafar (83) asked 480 Pakistani curriculum controllers, university social science teachers, heads of secondary schools, and social studies teachers to rate 20 social problems of Pakistan on the basis of the importance of their inclusion in secondary school social education. By combining averages derived from the educators' ratings of each problem with the percentage of persons rating each problem highly, Zafar judged five social problems "very important" the remaining fifteen "important" for study in Pakistani secondary schools. He concluded from these ratings that national problems are believed more important than international problems and that little consideration was given by the raters to the necessary interrelationships among problems. Additionally, problem areas traditionally closed were rated lower than areas comparatively open to critical discussion in the society.

Mitchell (59) studied what the secondary program in economic education should be and evaluated present trends and offerings in economic education in the secondary schools of the North Central Region. On an "opinionnaire" sent to economists and educators in 67 state-supported teacher training institutions, respondents indicated that economics should be included in the secondary social studies program as an independent, elective course in applied economics. Economists and educators agreed that the purposes of such a course should be an

understanding of basic economic principles and the development of good attitudes toward citizenship. A questionnaire, based on dimensions derived from the higher-education opinionnaire was sent to curriculum directors of social studies programs in 511 secondary schools in cities of 10,000 or more population. Of the 461 schools responding, 83 percent offered separate courses, mainly in basic economics. Since 1955, 38 percent of the schools added separate, elective courses in basic economics at the twelfth-grade level. It was concluded that present trends and offerings in secondary economics are essentially the same as higher education respondents recommended they should be.

In an effort to determine the extent and kind of knowledge about certain social science ideas that students might learn from a study of American history, Ratcliffe (63) identified 89 representative ideas believed essential by social scientists for the understanding of their respective disciplines and inventoried the use of these ideas in six leading eleventh-grade American history textbooks. Though Ratcliffe found 30,603 usages of these 89 terms, only 156 usages encompassed more than mere mention. In Ratcliffe's analysis, term usages were classified as (a) mention, (b) appositives, (c) dictionary definition, (d) examples or components, (e) characteristics or operations, and (f) charts and graphs. The application of this system, which was declared valid and found statistically reliable by a panel, revealed that only 44 of the terms received any qualitative treatment and only 20 of these were treated qualitatively in all six books. A disproportionate number of the 28 terms that received adequate quantitative representation in the books were primarily political or economic in nature. Ratcliffe found in his first analysis, however, that 75 of the 89 ideas were shared by at least two disciplines. Eleven terms were identified as representative in five social sciences and five terms were claimed by six of the disciplines. Ratcliffe concluded that basic social science ideas are inadequately represented in the six leading eleventh-grade American history textbooks.

Sistrunk (72) surveyed a random sample of 100 Florida teachers of a required course entitled "Americanism

versus Communism." The purpose of the survey was to prepare a description of the course as taught in the schools. Most of the 70 respondents indicated that they stress the basic principles of United States government and make contrasts with the government of the Soviet Union as required by law. On the whole, the course was taught by well prepared and established teachers. The teachers generally favored continuation of the course, and recommended its placement at the twelfth grade. Few felt undue pressure from the community and many stressed the need for better materials. The teachers also felt that special preparation was helpful in teaching the course, and they identified a need for periodic review of the curriculum.

From relevant literature, Wirsing (81) constructed a 452-item questionnaire concerning information about communism. The questionnaire was completed by 171 volunteers from a list of 300 recognized authorities and the questionnaire topics were based on the recommendations of knowledgeable persons and scholarly societies. Each respondent was asked to classify each item of information as "essential," "important," or "nonessential." The investigator concluded that communism should be considered more fully in the public schools than it is currently. Her conclusion, based on expert testimony, was that all pupils, and not just the intellectual elite, should receive comprehensive instruction on communism. Further, teachers should be adequately prepared to conduct such instruction.

Cox and Massialas (11), in concert with 12 other area specialists, assessed the contribution of the most widely used elementary and secondary social studies textbooks to the process of inquiry in the teaching of social studies. Included in their book, *Social Studies in the United States*, are analytic essays covering the entire gamut of social studies offerings in elementary and secondary schools. The research team concluded that social studies textbooks represent considerable variability and that some of the newer materials offer more help to the teacher attempting the conduct of inquiry in his classroom. They also concluded that most textbooks would be usable in the inquiry process under the guidance of a skilled teacher; but no single text pre-

sented both the depth and analytic framework required in the inquiring classroom.

Holman (37) traced the development of the case study method from its origination in the Harvard Law School in 1871 through its adaptation in many areas such as business, education, medicine, social sciences, and human relations. Several pilot projects have successfully experimented with various kinds of case studies in teaching American government. Since current literature revealed the efficacy of using court cases but not the criteria for selecting them for high school usage, Holman produced a set of criteria for this purpose. On this basis she selected four Supreme Court cases for supplementary use in existing courses in American government. She recommended that the process of American government should be emphasized when using court cases in instruction.

The purposes of Smith's (74) study were to identify the modes of inquiry and the key concepts used by the political scientist; to survey the standard secondary school textbooks used in problems courses, civics, and government for content relative to the identified modes and concepts; and to evaluate these textbooks as vehicles for teaching them to high school students. The methods employed in this study were a review of the literature of political science and a content analysis of a sample of 33 textbooks in civics, government, and problems. On the basis of his content analysis, Smith concluded that there is no evidence of concern for the modes of inquiry of the political scientist in these sources. However, he noted examples of five modes of inquiry that could be utilized by knowledgeable teachers. He concluded that the more recent high school textbooks show a growing awareness of political science as a discipline.

Starting with a cluster of curriculum concerns involving problems of fragmentation, logic, and lack of social science content, Martorella (52) constructed a model for the arrangement of content within a secondary United States history course. The model features a progression of three concepts, "social change," "world interdependence" and "power," operationally delineated according to their critical attributes. Each concept was used to order and arrange content through the

selection of four content episodes which illustrate the critical attributes of the concept.

Kavett (48) evaluated the "Colonial Unit: The Emergence of the American," published by Educational Services Incorporated in terms of readability, pupil interest, and pupil questions and activities. He found that while the materials were "highly interesting" to the pupils, the level of reading difficulty and abstraction exceeded the ability of a "large segment of junior high pupils." Parallel segments of a small sample of conventional texts were compared with the unit and found to be more readable, and to contain recommended activities consonant with the goals identified by ESI; but the texts were found to be distinctly less interesting to students. The investigator recommended that the ESI materials be revised by lowering their levels of abstraction to increase their readability while retaining their elements of high interest.

Walsh (78) evaluated the world history course in Canadian schools by analyzing authorized textbooks and provincial Department of Education bulletins to discover the historical interpretation in each program. He found the Catholic and "progress" histories biased to the point of distortion and concluded that only those programs of limited interpretation present well-balanced accounts. The various programs ranged in scope from those almost exclusively European to quite universal histories; but in all instances the emphasis and perspective was European. This European focus has resulted from the practice of adding non-western elements to a central structure of European history which is contrary to the view of modern universal historians that a true world history course should show the interconnection of events throughout the world. Walsh suggested that attempts to form a world history through the "aggregation of histories" must be distinguished from the more appropriate replacement of the present course by history that provides a global perspective.

Two studies were concerned with the effects that differing curricular programs in social studies might have on the social understandings, values, and attitudes of students. In the first of these, Alley (2) studied the effect of

varying programs in high school social studies on student achievement and on student attitudes toward certain social concepts. The required program consisted of a core program of one year in American history and one semester each in American government and economics. Varying programs consisted of the core program plus one or two years in other social studies courses. In all, five different social studies programs were compared. The *Iowa Test of Educational Development*, social studies reading, and the *Semantic Scale of Social Value* were utilized as criterion measures. Data from the study indicated that students who enrolled in third- or fourth-year elective courses in high school social studies achieved significantly greater knowledge and understanding of social studies than those who enrolled in a required two-year program. Differing combinations of courses completed in the third and fourth years made no significant difference in achievement. Students who enrolled in more than the required two-year high school social studies program did not acquire attitudes toward social objects which differed significantly from those who enrolled in the required two-year program.

Cosman and Fitch (10) reported that the social studies and science departments at University High School of the University of Iowa developed and taught an interdisciplinary course during the 1966-67 academic year. History was used as a vehicle for describing sustained intellectual activity within a society strongly influenced by science and technology. The course, "Science and Culture," was taught to 21 juniors and seniors at the University High School for a full academic year. Experimental and control groups were matched on the basis of sex, grade level, cumulative grade point average, and intelligence. Both groups were administered a series of pre- and post-treatment tests which were employed as criterion measures. The students in the "Science and Culture" course evidenced significantly greater increases in understanding the scientific process, scientists as an occupational group, and science as an interacting institution. They also showed significantly greater gains in critical thinking ability, in emphasis on theoretical values, and in understanding the character of scientific and non-

scientific segments within cultures. There was no evidence that students in the experimental course had a greater increase in substantive scientific knowledge.

INSTRUCTION

Methods. In the general area of social studies instruction, the largest quantity of research continues to be in the testing of various methods or techniques of teaching. The bulk of these purport to compare a "traditional" or "conventional" methodology with some favored approach, such as simulation, case study, or concept-generalization development. Others compose two or more variations of treatment and attempt to determine the most efficacious one for a particular result. A number of other methodologically oriented studies are classified in this review as being more descriptive than comparative in nature. That is, the researchers have identified certain instructional behaviors and have set out to observe their occurrence in the conduct of instruction.

In an experiment designed to test the comparative value of two methods of instruction, Socratic and recitation, in teaching critical thinking, Shaver and Oliver (71) found no significant differences between them. The experiment involved 125 seventh- and eighth-grade Boston pupils. Common background in the form of written material and movies was provided, but subjects were assigned to one of two discussion groups. Adequate checks were made to insure that the prescribed methods were employed. With intelligence and pre-test scores as covariants the investigators found no significant differences between experimental groups as measured by the *Iowa Test of Educational Development*, social studies information and social studies reading, the *Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal*, and the *Michigan State Test of Problem Solving*. On tests developed especially for the project, significant differences favoring the Socratic method were found.

Further analysis by Shaver and Oliver involved test scores and certain personality measures. Having previously found correlational analysis unproductive, the investigators turned to covariance analysis. The distributions for each of 13 personality measures were trisected. Each third was

then classified by treatment for two-way analysis of covariance with intelligence and pre-test scores as covariants. These analyses provided a number of significant, but not totally systematic differences. In general, only the more open, less authoritarian, more confident students did better with the Socratic method. The findings, though not definitive, support a general conclusion "that all students do not react similarly to the same teaching behavior," even when intelligence and prior knowledge are held constant.

A more definitive report of this important study was published in 1966 by Oliver and Shaver (60) as a progress report of the first five years of the Harvard University Social Studies Project. Their book, *Teaching Public Issues in the High School*, focuses on the development of jurisprudential strategies in dealing with values, issues, and policies in social studies classrooms.

The hypothesis tested in McArthur's (54) study was that students who were taught world history using television retain information over an extended period as well as, but not significantly better than, students taught in conventional classes. The experimental group of 51 students received world history instruction by television and the control group of 113 students received world history instruction without the use of television. Both groups were administered alternate forms of the *Cummings World History Test* for the pre- and post-measures. The results indicated that the students who were taught world history using television retained information observably, but not significantly better than students taught world history in conventional classes. Also a student questionnaire dealing with the world history course, student out-of-school activities, and the educational aspirations of students indicated no significant differences between the two groups in the 11 aspects covered by the questionnaire.

Garvey and Seiler (25) failed to find significant difference in the achievement of high school students taught by simulated and traditional methods. They hypothesized that simulation would produce significantly better results than those obtained in classes taught by lecture-discussion methods. The subjects were 405 twelfth-grade American government students in two high schools in Kansas.

The experimental group which employed simulation consisted of 225 students; the remaining students constituted the control group. The same two teachers at each high school, both having had previous experience in the use of simulation, taught their respective experimental and control classes. Test data were acquired at the introduction of instruction in international relations, at the conclusion of a six-week unit of instruction, and approximately two months subsequent to termination of instruction. Criterion measures consisted of a content test designed to test for factual and conceptual knowledge, the *Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal*, the *Cornell Critical Thinking Test*, and an attitude survey of students. Reading ability, grade-point-average, sex, I.Q. and age data were collected.

Estes (22) experimentally tested the effectiveness of a case study method as compared to a lecture-written assignment approach for teaching the Bill of Rights. The investigator, employing the case method, and two colleagues, employing the traditional method, taught 424 twelfth-grade California high school youths alphabetically assigned to the treatments. Socioeconomic, sociometric, and tolerance scales were used in the evaluation. The experimenter concluded that the case method produced significantly higher tolerance scores and higher agreement with Bill of Rights principles than did the traditional method. Highly religious, blue collar, and racial minority youths and children of less educated fathers were found to be less tolerant.

Dodge (15) found that 64 students taught by a concept-generalization approach for an eight-week period in American history made a significant gain in learning and organizing historical knowledge when compared with 59 students taught by a traditional approach. Dodge concluded on the basis of his study that concept-generalization development makes learning an active, meaningful, interesting, transferable, and unified process and can result in significantly greater achievement than a traditional approach emphasizing memorization, simple questions and answers, and adherence to the textbook. Dodge discovered, however, that pupils need guidance and practice in developing concept-generalization skills. Developing concepts step by step ap-

peared to be a crucial factor in this process.

Baker (4) experimentally compared differences in learning, retention, and attitudes of eighth-grade American history pupils taught by conventional and simulated methods. A total of 131 pupils were randomly assigned to one of four classes. Each class was taught by the investigator for three weeks. Functionally, the simulation methods reproduced the major characteristics and problems of the social, economic, and political systems of our country between 1840 and 1860. It presented the historical problems of our country in the structure of international politics in simplified form. The traditional method was described as a "read and discuss the textbook method." A specially prepared and analyzed 55-item pupil achievement test was used as the criterion measure. Employing variance analysis, Baker found significant post-test results favoring pupils taught by the simulation method. The test of retention favored the experimental group and a statistically positive attitudinal change favoring "a more centralized and efficient policy-making procedure" was found for the experimental group. He concluded that the pupils taught through simulated procedures had a "greater appreciation for the complexity of our country's pre-Civil War problems."

McCree (55) compared two methods of teaching history by analyzing the achievements of two groups of college freshmen. The experimental group, divided into three reading-level sub-groups, approached the teaching of history through thematic units structured by the Carnegie Curriculum Project. The control group, also sub-grouped and paired with the experimental sub-groups, studied history in the "customary, chronological" order. In two of the three pairs of sub-groups compared, there was no significant difference in the comprehension and retention of history as measured by the *Cooperative American History Test*. The third pair of sub-groups compared showed a significant difference. Other factors related to achievement in history, as reported in the study, were reading level and school abilities.

Williamson (79) compared an in-depth approach to American history to a conventional in-breadth approach. He used pre- and post-scores on the

Craty America: History Test, the *Iowa Test of Educational Development*, the *Watson Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal*, and *Principles of Democracy*, and measures of student attitude toward any school subject as criteria. Observations were made to assure that participating teachers used the prescribed approaches. The study involved 116 suburban tenth-grade pupils. No significant differences were found between treatment groups for content and problem-solving measures, but the in-depth group was found to have a significantly more positive attitude toward the subject. It was concluded that the approaches were equally effective in teaching content and problem solving.

Four studies examined the effects of two or more alternative treatments in elementary social studies classrooms. In only one study of this group were comparisons made with a no-treatment or conventional situation.

Crabtree (12) carefully designed an experiment to test the effects of teacher structuring on children's thinking. Two groups of second-grade pupils were subjected to two experimental programs each involving a 15-minute antecedent discussion period under the direct influence of the teacher and a consequent 25-minute dramatic play period when the subjects were free to engage in a non-directed but related activity. The critical variable of teacher structuring of the discussion differentiated the two programs, but in both cases sufficient structure was established to center the pupils' interest and circumscribe relevant inquiry. In general, the goals, concepts and procedures in the structured antecedent discussion period were carefully predetermined by the teacher. In contrast, the discussion period of the other group was characterized by joint participation of students and teacher in establishing structure, frames of reference, and criteria. The free-play period, selected in this research because of its rich opportunities for observation of thinking, also represented high and minimal environmental structure. Crabtree anticipated that her population of 24 second-grade pupils, individually tested, paired, and randomly assigned to two groups, would exhibit different thinking patterns when exposed to the two treatments. Each group functioned as its own control in that it had each treat-

ment for three weeks utilizing the similar studies of harbors and airports. In order to test her hypotheses that students when exposed to the highly structured discussions and the high realism materials in the play-period environment would exhibit less divergent and more convergent thinking, and when exposed to the jointly determined structured discussions and low-realism materials in the play environment would exhibit divergent responses, Crabtree devised two observation scales. Her study verified the hypotheses in that structuring did produce more convergent thinking while relative permissiveness elicited more frequent examples of divergent thinking.

Ryan (65) tested the effect of alternative uses of linear programs on fourth-grade pupils' learning of general geographic features of Japan. After making programs coinciding with five topics in a textbook, he selected four groups of students for different program treatments. Three groups used the programs supplemented by either before or after textbook reading or map work over a nine-day period. The fourth group used the programs alone over a five-day period. Ryan found that the supplemented groups scored significantly higher than the unsupplemented group both on immediate post-tests and the retention tests given two weeks later; but the Reading-Program and the Program-Activity groups appeared to be favored treatments for certain criterion measures. Also significant correlations between success and I.Q. were found for each treatment.

Slan (73) compared the effect of the use of an adult, daily newspaper and a children's, commercial classroom paper in fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade social studies. Two classes at each of these levels, equated on reading achievement and mental maturity, were subjected to the two media about an hour a week for ten weeks in their study of current affairs. Criterion tests were given to all six classes at the end of the ten lessons measuring knowledge of national and international organizations, world leaders, political geography, current affairs, and the ability to read and understand adult newspapers. Analysis of the data seemed to show that the formal study of current affairs at the fourth-grade level, using

either adult or children's papers, is of limited value. Formalized study based on written material was found to be both appropriate and desirable at the fifth and sixth grades. The use of adult newspapers was better for teaching sixth graders about geography, leaders, and organizations; but the children's papers worked better for teaching current affairs knowledge in specific content areas. Neither technique proved advantageous in improving the reading and understanding of adult newspapers.

Thompson (77) studied the relative effectiveness of varying degrees of specificity in organized economic curriculum content materials with three experimental groups of fifth-grade pupils. The first group used specific questions keyed to specific concepts; the second group stressed the same concepts, but did not use specific questions; and the third group was instructed to emphasize economics wherever possible in the regular curriculum. There was also a no-treatment control group. One affective and two cognitive tests were developed and analyzed by the investigator for use as criteria. Analysis of covariance with intelligence as the covariant produced results favoring the employment of the materials in the least structured way.

Three methodological studies may be classified as descriptive-observational. In each instance, behavioral criteria were established or assumed and the performance of teachers or pupils was observed and described with reference to these criteria.

In a study by Herman (35), 14 fifth-grade teachers were randomly assigned to above-average, average, and below-average classes. The teachers were visited by observers during five different social studies lessons of a common six-weeks long topic. Observations of classroom activities were coded using the OSCAR system to determine the use of listening, speaking, reading, and writing activities. Speaking and listening activities accounted for 79 percent of the lesson time, while reading and writing were used 17 percent of the time. An analysis of variance indicated significant differences among the kinds of activities used by teachers in the various types of classes, and among the kinds of activities used at specific times. In another report of this study, Herman (36) used the Flanders system

to observe verbal interaction at the beginning and at the end of a unit of instruction and at three equally spaced intermediate times. Flanders I/D ratios were computed. Teachers of more able students were found to use more indirect instruction, to be more democratic, and to allow more student-centered activities.

Davis (14) concluded that the intellectual atmosphere of 44 social studies classrooms taught by student teachers could only be described as "meager." He based his conclusion on an analysis of the classroom questions asked by the subject teachers using a specially prepared "Teacher-Pupil Question Inventory." The TPQI classification system was derived from Bloom's cognitive taxonomy as interpreted by Sanders in *Classroom Questions*. The questions asked by student teachers were highly correlated and almost all of them could be classified as either "memory," "translation," or "interpretation." The latter two combined can be thought of as "comprehension." Thus the questions asked in the social studies classrooms were overwhelmingly of the memory-comprehension variety. The investigator recommended that classroom questions be given increased attention and that pre-service experiences be utilized to improve the questioning skill of student teachers.

After theoretically identifying the structure-discovery approach as being subsumed in the larger curricular theory of Education for Reflection, Ribble (64) more particularly described the related behavioral characteristics entailed in teaching the Economic Project materials developed at The Ohio State University. He created a classroom observational device which he and three trained observers used to record these behaviors during five visits to ten classrooms where the project materials were in use. Each observer also ranked the ten teachers according to adherence to structure prescriptions and adherence to discovery prescriptions by means of an instrument prepared by Ribble. Each teacher's unique combination of these prescriptions was also judged and predictions of class achievement were made on the basis of these judgments. The judgmental instrument itself proved reliable and objective; but the predictions derived from it, after appropriate statistical treatment, were not significant.

cently related with the Project's measures of achievement. From his study, Ribble concluded that "the use of the structure-discovery approach is characterized by a dialogue between the teacher and the students which promotes a reflective examination of the conceptual relationships purported to exist within the structure of a discipline."

Mazurkas and Zevin (53) investigated in some 30 secondary classrooms over a period of three years the several hypotheses posed in the Woods Hole Conference of 1959 relative to instruction and learning. Their book, *Creative Encounters in the Classroom*, describes and interprets many episodes, emphasizing the procedures of analysis, discovery, and value examination in social studies. Their conduct and observation of these teaching and learning phenomena suggested to them that some students experienced mild frustration when left without exact answers. Most students, however, accepted the tentativeness of knowledge implicit in these processes of inquiry and operated logically and rationally at a high level of motivation. The teachers assumed the major tasks of planning and initiating stimulating encounters and sustaining and rewarding students' effective participation in the lesson.

Materials. Six of the studies reviewed focused their attention on social studies materials. In some cases the attempt was to test the effect of certain kinds of materials on student performance. In others, the more important instructional implications related to the level or type of content in standard social studies materials or the appropriateness of certain kinds of materials for young children.

Dooley (16) investigated the comparative efficacy of economics materials fulfilling the requirements for the study when taught to 484 disadvantaged fourth-grade children. Disadvantaged was judged as eligibility of the students' families for special funds. Teacher efficiency ratings were used to equalize differences due to variances in teacher competencies. A general pre- and post-design was used with a carefully prepared achievement test as the criterion. Three variables were examined: program and sex and race of student. A number of covariates were used. Significant differences were found for programs and race, but no

significant differences were found for sex. Dooley concluded that "some effect on learning may accrue from the method in which economics materials are written for culturally disadvantaged fourth-grade subjects. Materials utilizing the inductive method . . . may enable subject to achieve significantly higher gain scores."

Jefferds (43) found "no advantage to children who received economics instruction from the 'packaged' instructional materials" developed by Senesh's economics curriculum project at Purdue University. Three experimental groups were compared. Group one utilized the packaged materials entitled, "Our Working World"; group two used the packaged curriculum as resource materials; and group three received regular instructions in the same concepts as discussed in four in-service teacher meetings. Analysis of variance and covariance using pupil scores from the *Elementary Economics Test, Form A*, and the *Lee Clark Reading Readiness Test* produced insignificant differences among the experimental groups.

Gillespie (28) concluded that "methodology in the teaching of reading must be redesigned to provide appropriate guidance in developing the skills necessary for effective performance in a variety of content." Her conclusion was based on multidimensional analyses of fifth-grade basal readers and social studies texts. The content analysis revealed significant differences for the categories of plot vs. exposition, character vs. personages, and themes vs. key ideas. Other differences were found indicating that the skills necessary for reading basal readers differ significantly from the skills required for reading fifth-grade social studies text material.

The purpose of Windley's (80) study was to learn at what levels of cognition that information was presented and to ascertain the amount of attention that was given to the social science disciplines in two classroom current affairs periodicals. An analysis was made of the feature articles, accompanying discussion questions, and non-textual materials in *Current Events* and *Junior Scholastic* for 1964-1965 and 1965-1966. The unit of measure used in coding was the paragraph. Descriptive categories similar to those formulated by Bloom were employed. Windley found that the great-

est attention was given to textual questions which required recall of specific and relatively concrete types of knowledge. Content emphasis was upon political science, followed by economics and history; and the least attention was given to anthropology and sociology.

Gengler (25) tested 91 boys and 97 girls in the sixth-grade in 23 Oregon schools on their ability to "apply the terminology of geography to the symbolism on atlas maps." The students were asked to point to map representations when each geographical term was announced. In cases of doubtful identification, the students were asked to define the term or point to another part of the map to locate the same symbol. Eighty-five percent of the students were unable to point to a cape, the least identifiable symbol on the map. Fifty-one percent of the students were unable to identify a valley, though every child could verbally describe a valley. "Lake" proved to be the most translatable term, being pointed out properly by over 95 percent of the pupils. Boys did better on the test than girls, but Gengler found that verbal capability and symbolic conceptualization are different skills for both sexes.

In an effort to determine the acquisition of perspective ability in elementary school children, Miller (58) administered to 150 K-G children a perspective test involving their judging from what direction each of a series of pictures was taken of a three-dimensional map. For most children the ability to deal with the concept of perspective was well developed by age 12. Few children were able to coordinate perspectives before the first or second grade.

Organizational patterns. A few studies examined organizational practices with instructional implications. Three of these sought to determine the effect of team teaching on the achievement of social studies objectives.

A study conducted by Chamberlain (7) compared the academic performance in United States history of an experimental and control group and analyzed the reactions and attitudes of team-taught students toward the method. The experimental classes, consisting of 90 students in each class, were taught by two teachers who utilized the part-time services of an auxil-

lary teacher and a teacher aid. The control classes consisted of 35 students who were taught by one teacher in the traditional manner. A form of the *Cooperative American History Test* was utilized to study academic performance. The results of the study indicated that students taught in a conventional class achieved significantly higher scores on the criterion test than the team-taught students. Additionally, the findings revealed that the advantage achieved in United States history by the control group was with students of higher ability. Students taught by the team teaching method reacted favorably to the course, as represented by questionnaire responses.

Jester (44) was concerned with the effects of team teaching organization on the social studies achievement of eighth-grade students. He compared team teaching organization with departmental organization. Data were collected which indicated that prior to exposure to the experimental conditions, the experimental and control groups did not differ significantly on five educationally related variables. In terms of the experimental conditions, the only intentional and recognizable difference between the two groups was the use of team-teaching techniques. At the end of the experimental term, which lasted for one academic year, the students of both groups were tested with standard instruments of social studies achievement. There was no significant difference between the two groups in social studies achievement.

Fraenkel (23) tested the popular hypothesis that newer scheduling and organizational devices promote student learning. Specifically, he compared subject achievement of students taught under flexible scheduling and varied sizes of team-taught classes. The subjects were 137 eleventh-grade, first semester, San Francisco Bay Area United States history students. The criterion was a specially prepared and tested achievement test directly related to the common goals of the two groups. Subjects were randomly assigned to treatment and the same teachers taught both experimental groups. Fraenkel found no significant differences between groups on the recall and recognition part of the criterion examination, but did find the experimental group favored significantly on the part measuring higher cognitive

processes. Further examination of the data by ability quartile (SCAT) revealed no significant advantage for either treatment. In general, recall and recognition were facilitated by traditional organization for less able pupils; but for bright students flexible schedules and team teaching were beneficial with regard to higher cognitive processes. He concluded that "teaching teams may indeed be more effective . . . in producing certain types of learning."

In two parallel studies Splittgerber (75) and Joekel (45) surveyed senior and junior high schools with reference to their grouping procedures in social studies. From existing research Splittgerber designed a questionnaire to gather data regarding the grouping procedures used in high schools. The instrument was sent to 337 selected high schools. Of the 278 schools from which responses were received, 137 indicated some grouping procedures for social studies instruction. One hundred fifty-one social studies teachers in these high schools were then surveyed to determine the procedures used for providing variations in content, emphasis, and methods for grouped levels, and administrators of five responding high schools were interviewed concerning grouping procedures. Splittgerber found that the most common approach to grouping was to organize pupils into three levels. He found wide support for grouping practices and significant interest in the mechanics of grouping, but very little provision for the differentiation of instruction. Most often, teachers attempted to individualize instruction by altering the depth and comprehensiveness in treatment of subject matter rather than providing unique content for each group. He concluded that recognition of grouping as only one aspect of individualizing instruction is necessary before effective progress can be made.

To ascertain any differences in the materials and instructional approaches used in grouped and non-grouped social studies classes Joekel surveyed 484 junior high school administrators of schools organized on a 6-3-3 basis in eight midwestern states using a questionnaire based on a review of the literature. The administrators of six selected junior high schools were interviewed and questionnaire reactions of 280 randomly selected social studies teachers were also obtained. Joekel

found that few social studies teachers differentiated significantly in the organization, method, material, evaluation techniques, content, activities, or audio-visual material for various ability groups. In both grouped and non-grouped classes individualization of instruction depended largely upon the classroom teacher.

Critical thinking and controversial issues. The processes of critical thinking and the treatment of controversial issues received the major attention in six research efforts. Four of these were classroom experimental studies investigating the effects of certain strategies or materials on student achievement of critical-thinking goals. One analyzed a group of guidebooks according to a set of criteria closely related to critical thinking and another surveyed professional and lay attitudes toward the treatment of controversy in social studies classrooms.

The purposes of Hunkins' (39) study were to determine whether a dominant use in social studies text materials of analysis and evaluation questions, as defined by Bloom would effectively stimulate the development of critical thinking in students of sixth-grade social studies, and to learn if the emphasis on these questions would improve the social studies achievement of these students. Two hundred sixty students in sixth-grade classes of a large suburban school system were randomly assigned to Condition A, dominant emphasis on analysis and evaluation questions, or to Condition B, dominant emphasis on knowledge questions. Students used the specially prepared materials for both Conditions A and B as coordinated by the teachers. Taba's *Social Studies Inference Test* served as the criterion measure of critical thinking and a social studies achievement test developed by the investigator served as the criterion measure of achievement. Students using the text materials with question emphasis on analysis and evaluation did not differ significantly in critical thinking from students who used similar type materials with a major emphasis on knowledge questions. However, students receiving the high level questions demonstrated significantly higher scores in social studies achievement than did students receiving low level questions. Reading level exerted a significant influence upon the level of

achievement for students in both conditions.

Hunkins and Shapiro (40) investigated whether the case method approach was superior to the lecture textbook approach in teaching fifth-grade social studies. Two classes of similar size and distribution were given the two treatments over 16 instructional periods. The experimental class read, wrote answers to questions, and discussed ten one-page case studies dealing with economics, equality and citizenship, and freedom of speech, worship, and privacy. Discussions were designed to force children to take and defend positions and to analyze their arguments from various points of view. Only the case group made significant gains between the pre- and post-criterion tests, Forms A and B of *Behavior Preference Record*. Hunkins and Shapiro concluded that elementary school children can be taught to think critically and that the case method is an effective means for accomplishing this purpose.

Gagnon (24) conducted an exploratory study to determine if the employment of a methodology consisting of the clarifying process, thinking indicators, and thinking operations by a group of experimental teachers would result in improved performances by their pupils on a thinking test and if training in this methodology would change the teachers' behavior in the classroom and increase their ability to assess their pupils' thinking potential. When compared with an untrained group of fifth- and sixth-grade teachers of the Grosse Pointe Public Schools, Gagnon's experimental teachers asked more than five times as many clarifying questions. Clarifying questions were thought to be a principal strategy of the clarifying process. The trained experimental teachers used more of the 15 models of clarifying questions than the untrained teachers and the experimentally taught students exhibited a significantly larger number of thinking indicators in their remarks than did the students of the untrained teachers. One out of every six questions asked by the experimental teachers was a clarifying question; only one clarifying question out of each 35 questions was asked by the untrained teachers. Significant differences in scores on thinking tests did not occur between the groups of students; and

the trained and untrained teachers showed no differences in their abilities to rank their pupils for their estimated thinking potential as measured by the tests. From an analysis of tape recordings Gagnon concluded that instruction on questioning behavior can change the classroom conduct of teachers and students.

Eisele (21) tested the hypothesis that pupils of teachers who use "resource guides" would do better on a test of critical thinking than pupils of teachers who use resource units. A resource guide was defined as "a retrieval system of a resource unit from an electronic computer related to the objectives and characteristics of learners." A basic pre and post-treatment design using the *Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal* was used to test the basic hypothesis. The subjects were 11 teachers and their eleventh-grade social studies pupils. The three different treatments employed the use of resource guides with critical thinking objectives, resource guides without critical thinking objectives, and resource units alone. Analysis of variance produced results favoring the use of resource guides over the use of resource units alone. The investigator concluded that resource guides, as an aid to unit teaching, can help to individualize instruction, help pupils develop skill in critical thinking, and assist teachers in decision making.

Sandberg (66) analyzed the guidebooks on teaching about communism issued by state departments of education during the years 1962-1964 for the purpose of determining their conceptions of communism and to evaluate the recommended methods of teaching. He also attempted to determine the guidebooks' recommended approaches to attitude development and their usefulness in fostering a reflective analysis of values and beliefs. Analysis of the guidebooks was done in terms of a "reflective-analytic" theory of teaching which aims to improve the understanding of controversial issues and to increase the consistency among one's values. Sandberg found that the guides favored democratic institutions and values and generally placed communism in disrepute. The guides were found not to differentiate between attitudes, values, propositions, and concepts. The preferred method of instruction was described as indoctrina-

tion. He concluded that in terms of a reflective-analytical model of teaching, the guidebooks were of little value.

Schremser (20) sought to identify differences among four local policy-making groups toward the teaching of controversial issues. A questionnaire dealing with political, economic, social, religious, racial, and international issues was distributed to 100 randomly selected individuals in each of four policy making categories, secondary social studies teachers, secondary principal: school superintendents, and school board members. A total of 313 completed questionnaires were returned. Item ratings were subjected to Chi-square analysis. A variety of specific findings were reported leading the investigator to conclude that "teaching about controversial issues . . . should present no grave problems" in New Jersey's schools due to differences among the four groups. He also concluded that there were no safe issues and that there was need for board policies and administrative guidelines for teaching controversial issues. Teacher training and in-service programs should deal with the teaching of controversial issues, and administrative leadership and guidance would be helpful.

Attitudes and values. A final group of studies focused on the development of attitudes and values. Bottorff (5) investigated the reaction of lower class white and Negro children and middle class white third-grade children to "key social studies words." Each word was printed on a single page of a test booklet. For some words, pupils were asked to indicate their "like" or "dislike" for each word; for other words pupils were asked to write the meaning of the word in the booklet. These responses were then coded as "positive," "neutral," or "negative." Using Chi-square procedures, the investigator concluded that middle-class pupils reacted more positively to key social studies words than either lower class white or Negro pupils. Bottorff found that most children reacted negatively to "Indian" and positively to "white"; but neither lower class group liked the word "ack." Females showed more positive reactions than males in each group. Whites reacted more positively to "church," "house" and "school" than did Negroes.

Karns' (47) study dealt with the at-

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Attitudes of teachers and students toward instructional television materials which were in conflict with the material contained in the adopted social studies text. The study was conducted in a large, suburban, public school system in Ohio utilizing 44 sixth-grade classes. Thirteen videotaped telelessons were developed utilizing a regular sixth-grade teacher. Indigenous Africans, studying in the United States, presented information about their individual countries. Attitude measures were administered prior to and following the telecast series to determine pupil and teacher authority preferences. Alternative authority preferences included parent, teacher, textbook, current periodical or encyclopedia, and a native person appearing on instructional television. At the termination of the television series, a specially constructed instrument secured pupils' and teachers' preferences for conflicting statements from the telelesson and textbook. Both teachers and pupils selected television statements as being more authoritative than text materials. Teachers' attitudes toward instructional television as an authority source improved significantly following the telelesson series; but there was no significant change in teachers' low preference for textbooks. There was a statistical difference in the expressed authority source preference of high and low achieving pupils. While both groups favored textbooks, encyclopedias, and periodicals, high achievers showed a greater preference for instructional television than did low achievers. Neither high nor low achieving pupils gave much emphasis to parents and teachers as authority sources and there was a direct relationship between teachers' authority source preferences and preferences of their classes.

Meux and his colleagues (57) were concerned with problems that arise when values are treated in social studies instruction. Four different strategies were presented in written form to four groups of students. The strategies differed in degree and kind of justification for value ratings. The core strategy, the weakest support, contained only relevant information statements. The second strategy, viewed as stronger in support, contained core plus citing authority moves. The third strategy, viewed as still stronger in support, contained core plus analogy moves.

The fourth and strongest contained core plus criterion and associated description moves. Test results indicated consistent patterns of differences among the core, authority, analogy, and criterion groups. The criterion strategy group reacted more negatively to fluoridation and the use of pesticides than did the other three strategy groups. Additionally, a higher proportion of subjects in the criterion strategy group gave better reasons for not using pesticides. The core strategy group reacted less negatively to fluoridation and the use of pesticides than did the other three strategy groups.

In a philosophical inquiry, Dwyer (20) investigated the problems of teaching children how to deal rationally with ethical questions. He recognized that students are encouraged to investigate ethical questions, but he assumed that formal education does not equip them to deal effectively with such questions. Dwyer identified two problems accounting for most of the student difficulties with ethical questions. First, students are told to ask, "What is right?" instead of, "What is reasonable for me to believe about what I ought to do as right?" Second, they are offered no agreed upon method of rational inquiry into ethical questions. Dwyer suggests scientific inquiry as a paradigm of rational inquiry in ethics.

MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION

The cognitive level of civics learning experiences for 13 fifth-grade classes of a unified Los Angeles County school district were studied by Kirsch (49). Three methods were used to assess levels of cognition. The first method consisted of two multiple-choice tests, one designed to measure children's knowledge and comprehension of the area under study and the other designed to measure children's ability to apply knowledge and understanding of the area. A second method used was individual tape recorded interviews with a sample of the children designed to probe more fully their understanding of the area. The third evaluative device employed was observation of teachers to determine whether teaching behavior was related to pupil performance. Analyses of the performance of pupils by sex, socioeconomic status, and I.Q. yielded the following conclusions: (a) Boys appeared to be superior to girls at the cognitive levels of

knowledge and comprehension but less so at the level of application of knowledge to specific events. (b) Socioeconomic status seemed to be related to knowledge, comprehension, and application levels of cognition. (c) I.Q. seemed to be the most significant factor influencing pupil behavior on the two multiple-choice tests and during the interviews. (d) Observed teaching practices did not seem to stress any one level of cognition. (e) The influence of teaching style on learning outcomes was unclear.

Stampfer (76) studied the attainment of map skills by 600 fourth-grade pupils. "The Joyce Sequence of Map and Globe Skills in Elementary Schools" was used as the criterion. Analysis of test results indicated significant increases in mastery for 16 of the 30 skills measured. For four skills, significant differences were found between fourth and fifth-, and fifth- and sixth-grade pupils, but no significant differences were found between grades 4 and 6. He concluded that the observed patterns of map and globe skill attainment differed significantly from the pattern anticipated.

Daughtrey (13) compared the level of economic understanding of 2,150 graduating seniors from the Norfolk, Virginia, public high schools with national norms using Form A of the *Test of Economic Understanding*, published by Science Research Associates. Additionally, the study sought statistically significant differences in test performance between groups having had economics, basic business subjects, a combination of these, or neither of these. In general, Norfolk graduates did not compare favorably with national norms for the criterion instrument; nor did differing combinations of courses in business and economics produce differences in achievement. Many of the most difficult test items for Norfolk students dealt with "Economic Growth and Stability," while many of the least difficult test items dealt with "What Does the Economy Produce and How?"

The *Test of Economic Understanding* was also used by Healey (34) in her dual purpose study. Her first purpose was to determine the degree of economic understanding possessed by senior high school students at the beginning and at the end of a one-semester-required course in economics. Her

second purpose was to determine the degree of economic comprehension achieved by terminal high school graduates on a test of practical application. In the first phase of the study Forms A and B of the *Test of Economic Understanding* were administered as pre- and post-tests to both college-bound and non-college-bound students enrolled in an economics course. In the second phase of the study a ten-problem Economic Comprehension Test to determine application of economic understanding was given to non-college-bound graduates of the school as well as to graduates of the preceding five year period, 1960-1964. None of the comparisons of the first phase produced statistical significance. However, college-bound seniors made higher gain scores on the *Test of Economic Understanding* than did non-college-bound seniors and higher I.Q. students made larger gains on the test than did lower I.Q. students. In the second phase of the study, the non-college-bound graduates of the five-year period, 1960-1964, made higher scores on the ten-problem Economic Comprehension Test than did the class of most recent non-college-bound graduates. Item analyses of responses on the Economic Comprehension Test indicated that items dealing with direct, practical topics had a higher percent of correct responses than did items dealing with indirect, abstract topics.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER

A number of studies dealt particularly with characteristics, preparation, or effectiveness of social studies teachers. While at least two of the studies included in this classification employed experimental designs, using social studies students and special materials or treatments, it was the judgment of the reviewers that their most telling implications related to the teachers themselves.

To determine the social studies competence of juniors and seniors enrolled in elementary education at the University of Tennessee, Chandler (8) gathered social studies grade point averages and social studies scores on the *Sequential Test of Educational Progress* and the *American College Test* for 417 juniors and seniors enrolled in any one of three professional courses. Similar scores were obtained for a group of social studies majors for comparative purposes. In general, the elementary

majors were competent in social studies.

Irvin (42) surveyed junior high school social studies teachers with five or less years experience in three North Central Region high schools. Her purpose was to determine the perceived relevance of professional and academic preparation in meeting the needs of beginning teachers. From her data, she concluded that the total number of required social science hours should be reduced, except in geography, which should be increased. Further, the number of hours required for dealing with specific problems regarding preparation, discipline, and motivation should be increased. She also concluded that special certification requirements and teacher preparation courses should be developed that reflect the specific requirements of the junior high school.

Using students' achievement as his criterion, Greene (31) concluded that specialized training was not necessary for teachers using the "Concept of Culture" curriculum materials developed by the anthropology project at the University of Georgia. He employed two criterion measures, *Sequential Test of Educational Progress*, fourth-grade social studies, and duplicate forms for first and fourth grades of a specially prepared anthropology test. Using variance, covariance, and correlational analysis Greene found systematic, but non significant differences in achievement favoring pupils taught by teachers who had had some training with the special materials.

Potterfield (62) designed an experimental study to determine if teaching treatment, grade level, sex, socioeconomic level, and achievement level had an effect on children's ability to learn certain anthropological materials. Two classes each from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades were taught the "Concept of Culture" unit by two teachers, one untrained and one with limited training in anthropology. One other class from each level was not taught the anthropology materials. Pupil gains were measured using the tests prepared by the anthropology project. Specialized training of the teacher made little difference in pupil success with the unit.

Gentry (27) compared the surveyed responses of Tennessee social studies methods faculty and students with criteria found in a dozen social studies

textbooks. He found that the social studies methods course was offered by about 60 percent of the state's schools approved for teacher education and that the remaining 40 percent provided special attention to social studies in their general methods classes. Among the 25 instructors identified in the state, all met Tennessee requirements for teaching social studies in secondary schools, most had undergraduate or graduate majors or minors in the social sciences, and a majority had taught social studies in secondary schools. These instructors and their students agreed that most of the topics in Gentry's questionnaire relating to teaching social studies were included in the various methods courses. Gentry recommended that special methods courses be added to the curricula of approved institutions now preparing secondary social studies teachers.

As a preface to a number of prescriptions for the improvement of evaluation practices in social studies classrooms, Gross and Allen (32) referred to the results of two earlier studies in this area. In general these studies found that social studies teachers are not skillful in evaluating their pupils. Responding social studies teachers were found to have a narrow and imprecise conception of the uses of evaluation, to have little sophistication in evaluation theory or statistical methods used in evaluation procedures, and to have little concern for relating their instructional aims and their assessment practices.

DuVall (19) found that a sample of 520 intermediate-grade teachers correctly assessed the relative reading difficulty of four pieces of free social studies material, but disagreed with the grade level estimates assigned to the pieces by the Dale-Chall readability formula. Years of experience was found to be significantly but inconclusively related to the ability to make judgments of readability.

Inn (41) explored ways of helping elementary intern teachers use conceptual goals. During the intern semester seminars were held in which the formulation of instructional goals and the teaching of concepts and generalization were taught. The investigator used classroom observation, intern logs, lesson plans, and analysis of initial and final units to determine the effectiveness of the instruction. Her

general conclusion was that intern teachers find it difficult to analyze and use conceptual goals. Specifically, she concluded that: (a) interns have significant difficulty in translating goals into learning experiences; (b) The most successful training technique is to involve teachers in planning experiences designed to achieve stated objectives; (c) Interns need guided experience to think in terms of concepts and generalization; (d) Interns with higher academic achievement have less difficulty in planning and using conceptual goals.

Schreiber's (69) study was designed to gather evidence concerning the most prevalent types of questions asked by teachers in self-contained, fifth-grade social studies classrooms; whether the types of questions asked by such teachers vary from one type of lesson to another; and whether an instructional program designed to improve the teachers' question-asking techniques will change their question-asking practices. Fourteen teachers taught each of three types of lessons (introductory, developmental, and review) before and after an instructional program. The teacher instructional program consisted of four one-hour meetings in which the purposes of asking questions were discussed, different types of questions and their functions were identified, and questions were structured over selected social studies materials. Each lesson was observed for 30 minutes and audio tape recordings and typescripts were made of the verbal behavior that occurred during the observation. Using the typescripts and applying a question-classification scale, five jurors worked independently to classify the questions. Schreiber found that prior to the teacher instructional program, the most prevalent type of question asked was factual recall. Other types were those that called for a judgment based on personal experience, speculation on outcomes, and uncovering information and questions for study. After the instructional program, there was an increase in teacher questions calling for describing situations, making comparisons, defining and clarifying information, identifying important parts of materials, identifying supporting facts, drawing conclusions, and evaluating the quality of source material and the adequacy of data.

McNaughton and his associates (56)

trained an experimental group of teachers to develop high-level thought in their classes. They utilize a sequence of three activities involving listing and then grouping items of experience, generalizing from data, and applying principles in new-situations. Training consisted of an introductory workshop followed by a number of sessions over a year. The procedure employed an analysis of the coded transcripts of lessons involving application of principles taught by three trained and three untrained teachers. Both experimental and control groups contained one class from each of the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. The data revealed certain recurring patterns within the teaching strategies of the experimental teachers, but not of the control teachers. The results could be interpreted to mean that although the generation of high level thinking is partly idiosyncratic, certain productive teaching patterns used by these experimental teachers may produce similar results with other trained teachers.

Hovenier (38) hypothesized that the professional behavior of social studies department heads could be changed through feedback provided by their teachers in the form of averaged evaluations for each of ten scales describing important chairman behaviors. Two evaluative sets, perceived and ideal, were used by the teachers. A basic pre- and post-design with three groups was used. One group of 70 department chairmen received feedback between the pre- and post-evaluations; a second group of 79 received feedback only after the post-measure; while no pretest was given for a third group of 59 department chairmen. Analysis of covariance with the initial measure as the covariant revealed some significant shifts in teacher perceptions of their department head toward their previously identified ideal. Non-significant shifts in the hypothesized direction were found for six scales, no change was found on one scale, and a non-significant shift counter to the hypothesized direction was found for one scale. The experimenter concluded that the feedback technique has promise, but that the approach needs refinement.

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RESEARCH REVIEW FIVE

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Review of Research in Social Studies: 1966

by EMILY S. GIRAULT AND C. BENJAMIN COX

THIS ARTICLE is the fourth annual review of research in social studies education sponsored by the Research Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies. The first of these reviews, appearing in the May 1964 issue of *Social Education*, cited research conducted from 1960 through 1963. The second and third articles, appearing in the May issues of *Social Education* of 1965 and 1966, reported each preceding year's compilation of research as reported in *Dissertation Abstracts* and most well-known educational journals.

This present compendium reflects the bulk of the research studies in social studies reported in the literature in 1966. As a research effort itself it represents the scanning of every abstract in the education sections and the checking of titles in certain other sections of *Dissertation Abstracts*, the checking of appropriate categories in *Education Index*, and the perusal of each issue of some 50 journals which have been known to print social studies research articles.

While we make no unreasonable claim as to the definitiveness of our work in comparison to that of other years, it is impossible to overlook an obvious fact: fewer research articles have appeared in each succeeding report. We have thought of several possible explanations for this phenomenon.

1. We simply have overlooked many studies.
2. Educational journals are not soliciting or accepting as many research articles.
3. Our criteria for identifying research are becoming more severe and exclusive.
4. Less research is actually being done.
5. Fewer researchers are bothering to report their studies.
6. More long-term research is being done and cannot be appropriately reported piecemeal in journal articles.
7. Curriculum centers and projects have drained off the research-prone teachers to produce studies that are being reported elsewhere than in the professional literature.
8. There are decreasing numbers of doctoral candidates in social studies education.

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With some allowances for errors of placement, it is our impression that this listing of explanations is in an order of increasing probability. That is, numbers 1 through 5 may account for some of the diminution; but the telling reasons are found in explanations 6, 7, and 8.

Two other observations are unavoidable. Each of the bibliographies for the four review articles indicates that most of the research in social studies is being done by doctoral students. And though doctoral dissertations show great qualitative variance, it seems also fairly evident that the best research, insofar as this is reflected in much of the journal literature, is being done by doctoral candidates. We do not claim at this point that this situation is necessarily bad or good or that in comparison with other fields of study it is either unusual or usual. It does, however, seem a sobering reality that so great a potentiality is being defaulted.

CURRICULUM

Elementary curriculum. A study of the status and effectiveness of Texas public school kindergarten programs by Gardner (22) indicated that social science and science activities were limited as compared with preparation in language arts and numbers. Activities fostering creative expression, exploration, and discovery were lacking.

Tape recorded interviews of 50 experienced elementary school social studies teachers in Alabama were analyzed by Cannon (6) to determine teacher rationale for a good elementary school social studies program. The data were analyzed in a descriptive manner in relation to five goals of education (rational power, self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility). Principal findings were that most respondents felt that readiness was a factor in motivation in all five goals of education, that teacher-pupil planning was indicated as an element of teacher guidance, and that teacher appraisals were used more than other means of reinforcement.

The status and effectiveness of geography in the elementary curriculum are described in two research reports. Lee and Stampfer (35) working under the auspices of Project Social Studies at Northwestern University, indicate that erroneous and inadequate knowledge of geography on the part of primary-grade children is due to lack of continuity in the instruction from grade to grade. Primary-grade teachers were polled as to the geography skills and knowledge

taught in their classes. The results of their poll served as the basis for measuring the skill and knowledge actually attained by samples from these same classes. Significant percentages of pupils were unable to do the following tasks despite having received instruction in them: give the other cardinal directions after being given one; distinguish between "up" and "north"; give sound reasons for the relationship between urban location and commerce. The authors conclude that teaching geographic skills should be extended into the upper primary grades.

Bemis (3) attempted to determine the status of geography within the elementary school social studies program. In analyzing questionnaire responses from 11 state departments of education, and a sampling of city school districts, he discovered no one predominant approach to geography. Human, regional, economic, and physical emphases, separately or in some combination, are thought to be desirable forms of geography organization. Political, topical, social, and global organization of geography content are thought to be undesirable forms of geography organization. Characteristics of geographic content most frequently emphasized in elementary geography programs are not the characteristics which professional geographers urge to be emphasized.

The dissertations of Hebler (27) and Williams (55) are two of 11 studies in the second stage of a three-phase project being conducted at Stanford University. The project's over-all purpose is to glean from social science literature significant generalizations and to organize these in such a way that they may be utilized as a major source of curricular content in elementary school social studies. The over-all curriculum model focuses on nine basic human activities and follows the development of these through 11 expanding communities of man. The second phase of the project, now underway, is a pursuit of generalizations bearing on the expanding communities. Hebler's work focuses on the school community. He developed a classification system applicable to the school community, selected the most significant generalizations abstracted and organized in Phase One, and presented those generalizations significant and relevant to the school community in a form useful to curriculum workers. One hundred fifty-five generalizations were chosen as significant to the school community.

Williams centered his attention on the concept *region-of-states community*. His work began with the development of a system for studying the region-of-states community, and the analysis and description of the region-of-states community. His conceptual framework established, he then selected those generalizations which had particular applicability to the region-of-states concept from among 3,227 generalizations which researchers at Stanford had established as

basic to the social sciences. One hundred eleven generalizations were chosen as highly significant to a study of the region-of-states community.

It was concluded that there is a growing recognition of the region-of-states in the literature of the social sciences and a growing sense of community feeling and cooperative action at this level.

Three studies concerned themselves with various aspects of the development of attitudes and values in children.

Chambers (8) analyzed 29 children's fiction books in a search for material which may influence the development of social values in children ages five to nine. The social values identified as important for the developing child were presented in a uniformly weak manner. The trend in modern children's fiction seems to be toward less social value content than has been supposed of earlier children's fiction.

In a study by Schwartz (45) a textbook analysis and survey of educators' attitudes were used as measures of the possibility of implementing the theme "Recognition of the Dignity and Worth of the Individual" in the social studies curriculum of grades 1 through 6. There is little material related to the theme in primary-grade textbooks, but the texts at the middle-grade level include much more theme-related material. Educators' responses indicated the feasibility and appropriateness of this theme as part of an elementary school social studies vertical curriculum. Anderson (1) polled 244 primary teachers on their reaction to a set of carefully developed statements concerning the teaching of international understanding. It was found that primary teachers actually implement fewer ideas relating to international understanding than they feel might be suitable for their grade level; and that practices and procedures advocated by authorities as being particularly appropriate for the development of international understanding are not widely used.

Secondary curriculum. A series of studies in this country and abroad describe current modes in curriculum design and identify several specific problems and inconsistencies.

Olmo (40) used two questionnaires to study the status of secondary social studies curriculum development in New Jersey schools. She found that the most prevalent subject matter being taught included American history, economics, world history, and world geography. The curriculum was organized around separate subjects rather than interdisciplinary approaches. Psychology and anthropology were neglected as were cultural studies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The data indicate that teachers, department chairmen, and principals agreed that they shared the responsibility for curriculum revision.

The direction of revision was toward adding more courses, particularly for the college bound and for slow learners. Courses in world cultures and the behavioral sciences were reported as being added by one-fourth of the participants. The chief method of revision was to enrich existing courses with topics or supplementary materials. Evidence also showed an increased problems approach.

Scott (46) in a survey of Texas high school social studies programs, found that the existing curricula afford the student limited experience in dealing with current problems and place heavy emphasis on the early history of the state and the nation. There was little evidence that these programs are influenced by the state guidelines, or affected by innovations which have influenced other curricular areas.

A survey by Dabbert (12) of state history requirements of secondary schools in the United States revealed that 30 states require some instruction in state history in grades 7 through 12; of these, 13 specifically require state history instruction for graduation, but there is no pattern as to grade level for this instruction. Furthermore, there is little reciprocity between states to avoid forcing geographically mobile students to duplicate the state history requirement. Students who move in their last two years of high school are apt to find it difficult to meet the state history requirement and the normal requirements for graduation. Dabbert believes the results of his survey of state history requirements indicate a need for national agreement on the placement of the state history course in the social studies structure.

The Civic Education Project reported by Roselle (43) surveyed public, private, and parochial secondary schools throughout the nation to identify "the most promising practices in the making of citizens." The key question asked was, "What is a good citizen?" The responses received in the survey were grouped into 12 citizenship goals. These goals suggest that the development of good citizens involves the three major needs of creating an informed citizenry, developing an analytical citizenry, and promoting a committed and involved citizenry. The project team felt the third need to be of particular importance.

An investigation of the secondary social studies program in France was conducted by Dimond, (14) who found that it consisted of three parallel subjects: history, geography, and civics. The program was found to be uniform throughout the country. History and geography followed the central ministry courses as planned, and were taught primarily by lecture. The teachers were found to be well prepared and the class load was about 12 to 15 hours per week per teacher. Classes do not meet regularly. In addition to poor teacher training in civics, a weak-

ness in the civics program was the time allotment of one hour each two weeks. History and geography are taught in back-to-back time periods and seem relevant to the lives of the students as taught. Civics, on the other hand, seemed remote from the students' lives. Curriculum reformers in the United States might note the need for adequate time and teacher preparation in government and political institutions. A senior high school course in the contemporary world warrants attention, as does reduced teacher loads for secondary school teachers.

Three reports explore the status of specific social studies courses: psychology, economics, and geography. In investigating the current status of the high school psychology course Thornton (51) surveyed the curricula in all 50 states and analyzed textbooks. Approximately 14.5 percent of the total number of high schools offered psychology as a separate course. In 49 states the number of students enrolled in psychology was 5.4 percent of the total student enrollment in the grade at which the course was offered. Analysis of six textbooks specifically designed for such a course revealed that their major emphases were on personality and interpersonal relationships, mental hygiene, and the biological foundations of behavior.

Through the employment of personal interviews and questionnaires, Moreland (38) investigated the status and trend of geography education in the junior high schools of Kansas. From his findings he recommends strengthening of Kansas state teacher-preparation requirements for specific common areas of junior high social studies, more college and university programs geared to the junior high level; more course work in geography, elimination of combined junior high courses which are taught by teachers not adequately prepared, and more in-service training programs.

McElroy (36) analyzed the existing programs of economic education within the social studies departments of 36 selected high schools in terms of content of economic instruction, economics in the curriculum, and the academic professional preparation of social studies teachers. On the basis of his analysis, he offers eight recommendations for improvement of economic education in the social studies departments of the selected high schools.

A number of dissertations and articles described new models of curriculum design, new courses, or revised approaches to traditional courses. While several of these await actual trial and evaluation and may not be described as "research," the studies are reported here in the interest of indicating some directions of curriculum revision. Bradshaw, (4) together with social studies teachers at Monmouth High School, New Jersey, designed a four-year sequence in high

school social studies. The program consisted of two two-year courses, the first being world civilizations and the second being United States history. Special features of the last year of the United States history course are its emphasis on a problems approach and its two units oriented to economic problems.

Jaroslaw (29) prepared a model resource unit in world history for slow learners. The unit consists of a variety of verbal and nonverbal activities.

Soboslay (49) reports on an attempt to improve the economic understanding of eighth and ninth graders in the Pittsburgh junior high schools. With the aid of Carnegie Institute of Technology professors of economics, supplementary materials on economics were developed for use in eighth-grade United States history and in ninth-grade civics. The program was designed to extend over a three-year period and will be evaluated at its conclusion.

Two dissertations report on efforts to revise the high school American history course. Citing his belief that the traditional American history survey course is a relic, Kellum (32) presents his outline for an "interpretative approach" to history on the high school level. Nine topics are selected for in-depth study, beginning with the American revolution and ending with American foreign policy. The approach to teaching is essentially the "postholing" technique. Source materials, the mechanics of the course, and possible future implications of the "interpretations approach" are presented.

Fink (18) studied the effect of an American history program designed to meet the needs of high-ability juniors and seniors. The standard survey text was abandoned in favor of two two-volume collections of primary source documents. Emphasis was placed on the student's ability to analyze logically and to evaluate critically. The amount of class discussion and the use of written reactions and student interpretations increased. Several conclusions and implications of the study are worthy of note:

1. Variations from the usual drilling for Regents and national examinations did not lower the grade expectations for students in the program.
2. Teachers of high-ability classes should have a reduced teacher load in order to have more time for planning and preparation.
3. Libraries must acquire more materials, particularly multiple copies of paperback books.
4. As students from special programs such as the one described in this study enter college, the quality and level of college history teaching may need upgrading.

A course of study dealing with the media of communication was proposed by Corson (10) as an addition to the City of New York high school social studies program. Since newspapers, motion pictures, television, and radio are part of the daily background

of students, there follows the obligation of the public school to train students in the proper use of these media. A survey of New York City supervisory personnel indicated the feasibility and acceptability of such a course.

An ambitious and provocative attempt to bring certain philosophic considerations to bear on the problem of induction in social studies curriculum and instruction was carried out by Edgerton. (16) Arguing from the standpoint of Karl R. Popper's "logic of the situation," she concludes that the inductivist-verificationist approach to knowledge and its accumulation is based on a faulty logic. As a consequence, the social studies profession is charged with assuming and, frequently, teaching students a void intellectual authority—an authority which is validated by the teacher's social authority. This false claim to authority, it is argued, may result in an authoritarian stance as well as in psychological damage to the student.

INSTRUCTION

Methods. Four of the researches related to instructional methodology were designed to compare one treatment or experience with another in its ability to produce a desired result. In four other instances the effects of certain innovations were explored or observed. And in one case the literature related to two standard classroom modes was reviewed for possible generalizable conclusions.

Gayles (23) reviewed research of the past 25 years, comparing the effectiveness of lecture and discussion at the college level. She found the research generally poorly designed and controlled and was able to extract only the conclusions that the effectiveness of the two methods depends on the teacher, the experiences afforded the students, and the learning outcomes sought.

Fortune (20) attempted to determine the interrelationships of perceived instructional set, perceived cognitive closure, and test anxiety in two forms of lesson presentation, and to ascertain the combined effects of these three variables on learning. Twenty intern teachers taught a specified 15-minute lecture with strong instructional set and cognitive closure. The effects of this treatment was compared with a programmed learning text presenting the same content. In both programmed learning and lecture groups positive correlations were found between perceived set and perceived closure scores. Fortune also found that closure and test anxiety are related to learning in programmed instruction and that set and closure are important to the learning process in the lecture situation.

The effects of two instructional approaches to citizenship education in the ninth grade were studied by Brubaker. (5) A structural study of local, state, and na-

tional government was compared with a comparative cultures approach in which students made cultural analyses of particular societies. Results of the study indicated that the two approaches were equally effective.

Carmichael (7) compared the effectiveness of a conceptual method and an expository method of teaching map reading skills and geographic understandings. Statistical analysis of the two treatment groups showed that pupils taught conceptually, even by teachers without extensive conceptual training, made greater improvement in map reading skills and significantly greater improvement in geographic understandings. The teachers proved effective in using the conceptual method.

Tankersley (50) explored the relationship between social studies learning and the learning of study skills students need in order to find and analyze information on their own. The systematic presentation of lessons on information retrieval and analysis was compared with an indirect presentation of lessons to classes or individuals only as the need was seen. The results indicated no significant difference in social studies learning as affected by direct and indirect approaches to learning study skills.

Nadis (39) investigated the prevailing homework practices and attitudes of Detroit ninth-grade social studies teachers and students. Through the use of a questionnaire he found that the amount of homework given and the value placed upon it tended to vary directly with the median income of the area in which the school was located. In an additional experimental aspect of his study he found no statistical differences between using written and nonwritten homework assignments.

The State University College of New York at Fredonia developed a ten-week articulation program for juniors and seniors from nearby high schools. Chazanof (9) reported that once a week for ten weeks the students attended a two-hour class for which they read an assigned document, drew up a single-sentence thesis suggested by the material, and cited reason in support of the thesis. Class time was divided between lectures to provide background and discussion to help the students probe more deeply into fundamental issues. The students showed increasing ability to identify principles and explore issues.

Herzog (28) attempted to give junior college students a sense of functional politics by involving them directly in political processes. During the 1964 elections in California students were assigned to work at the campaign headquarters of the candidate of their choice. As a result of this experience, virtually all declared that they learned about the American political process. Only about 20 percent had previously

planned to participate in politics; but, following the assignment nearly 70 percent said they expected to participate in the future.

Johnson (30) reported on the successful use of official registration procedures, voting machines, and polling procedures in San Francisco junior high school student elections. Interest in the elections was exhibited by high registration and a 90 percent voter turnout among the student body.

Conceptualization. Four studies focused on the ability of students to conceptualize or on the nature of conceptual learning. Crabtree (11) assumed that elementary social studies should provide continuing conceptual learnings by engaging children in inquiries into simple concepts and then extending those relationships in subsequent studies. To implement this theory, a third-grade classroom was used to develop physical and cultural concepts about the settlement of the Los Angeles lowlands. To develop inquiry the teacher posed the following question to the students: If they had been among the early settlers offered land by the crown, what land would they have chosen? Through a process of checking possible influential factors with what historically happened, a "theory of rancho development" emerged. The theory was then used to predict additional conditions which were either confirmed or disconfirmed by further study. In this manner, learning was a continuing process requiring assimilation of new data and the accommodation of new conditions. This inquiry method is said to have the advantages of using the higher cognitive operations from which idea relationships are built. Furthermore, such inquiry provides for continuous restructuring of beliefs and theory systems as the student matures.

On the basis of other assumptions about conceptualization Grannis (25) studied the way in which high-achieving sixth-grade children learn abstract social concepts from formally structured verbal material. The subjects were to learn either the concept of "lobbying" or of "subsidizing" from four narrative cases of each concept. The traditional literature, which emphasizes slow development of abstract concepts from prescribed concrete experience, would not support the prediction of the success of even a limited number of students in this task. Results of the experiment offer some evidence that at least some children were able to learn an abstract social concept from their materials.

Joyce and Joyce (31) attempted to determine some of the effects of teaching children to analyze culture groups using as a focus the concept "values." Two classes of fourth- and fifth-grade children from an urban Catholic parochial school were shown films dealing with the Navajo, Eskimo, and Spanish culture groups. One class, the experimental group, was

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asked to identify examples of values in the films. Questions were also asked to encourage these students to infer values. Using student responses to films in a pre-test-post-test arrangement, Joyce and Joyce found that the number of values questions asked by the students in the comparison group increased from four to 27, while the number of values questions asked by the experimental group increased from 27 to 82. However, it was concluded that there was no increase in the ability of the experimental group to cite evidence on which inferences could be made about values.

Rogers and Layton (42) compared the ability of first-grade children to conceptualize within the context of the typical primary-grades social studies program with third-grade children who had been exposed to two years of social studies instruction. A test, created to measure children's ability to categorize certain pictures which illustrated social studies concepts in four areas, produced no significant difference between the first- and third-grade children in three of the four areas. While many of the children showed the ability to conceptualize in social studies, presumably little growth in this ability had taken place in the third-grade children.

Evaluation. Two studies report efforts to evaluate student growth in critical thinking and judgment. Wallen and Shirts (54) attempted to evaluate critical thinking through a structured interview with students. This approach was believed to have the merits of not being identified as a test in general or as a test of critical thinking in particular. The interview in this study consisted of 12 items pertaining to the topic of sleep learning, ten of which were scored on a six-point rating scale by three raters as they listened to the taped interviews. While correlations with standardized tests of critical thinking were not exceptional, Wallen and Shirts believe the interview technique can result in a high degree of scoring agreement as to a student's critical thinking ability.

Gall (21) reported that the Norwalk, Connecticut, schools have developed an instrument for determining the progress of elementary school children in decision-making ability. The instrument, reflecting the notion that judgments are influenced by facts, intuition, and the character of the judge, is used in conjunction with anecdotal records relating judgments and instructional activities.

Materials and activities. A number of studies reflect the continued interest of researchers on the importance of materials and activities in social studies instruction. Urlick (52) analyzed the content of ten senior high school American history texts within the theoretical framework of the *reflective approach* including its logical and empirical elements, the role of

the analysis of historical explanations, and the concept of the *closed areas* of American culture.

All of the texts were found to contain many explanations; but, the text with the greatest number contained over three times as many explanations as the text with the least number. Further, the texts were highly similar with respect to the percentage of explanations found to be relevant to each of the closed areas. The bulk of the explanations were found to be relevant to the categories of economics and forms and functions of government. Relatively few dealt with the categories of race and minority-group relations, religion and morality, social class or sex, courtship and marriage. More than one-fifth of the explanations were not judged to be relevant to any of the six categories.

In another examination of American history texts, Meeder (37) asked the question: How well do American history textbooks clarify the social-cultural consequences of industrial development in the United States? A survey of textbooks currently in use resulted in the conclusion that these texts provide inadequate treatment of topics considered significant in understanding the relationship of industrialization in America to social-cultural changes and to current social problems.

Fitch (19) utilized a collection of source readings correlated to an American history textbook to teach seven experimental and control classes for eight weeks. The experimental classes also read a manual designed to develop reflective thinking skills. On the basis of pre-test and post-test scores from the *Test of Critical Thinking in Social Science*, two of the seven experimental classes demonstrated a statistically significant difference in reflective thinking when compared with the control classes. In achievement, as measured by the *Cooperative Topical Test in American History*, no significant difference was noted between the groups.

A discussion manual, *The Problems of Peace*, was designed by Woock (56) for use at the college or adult level. The collection of articles represents various schools of thought concerning world peace. Discussion questions, suggested additional reading, and follow-up activities are included. Representatives of 11 organizations interested in world peace have endorsed the manual.

Poulous (41) investigated the attitude of Negro members of parent-teacher organizations toward hypothetical pictures of Negro personalities and events for junior high social studies textbooks. Selected P.T.A. members of metropolitan Detroit, Michigan, were shown 55 pictures portraying Negro historical personalities and events. The respondents, recording their attitudes on a five-point scale, were less critical of the pictures than were critics concerned with ex-

isting social studies content. They were more receptive to the pictures depicting eminent individuals who enhanced the Negro image than to those which portrayed the hardships and privations endured by the race during the past or present. Illustrations of the twentieth-century period were generally most favorably received whereas those of the slavery era were least favorably received. Poulous concluded that certain factors in the background of the respondents had a significant bearing on attitudes toward the composite pictures and also toward those classified in the historical categories.

Duffy (15) explored the way folk songs could be used in social studies classes. This research involved gaining familiarity with the field of ethnomusicology, interviewing persons interested in popularizing folk songs, and comparing folk songs of the United States and Australia. Duffy believes that folk songs could be quite valuable in the field of history because they "fill in" written history, are a key to the social history of the little man, and provide vicarious experiences. Examples of classroom use of folk songs together with some objectives based on Bloom's taxonomy are presented to assist the teacher in clarifying purposes when using folk songs in social studies.

Goebel (24) identified social studies learning activities most appealing to "rapid," "normal," and "slow" sixth graders. Reading for discussion, making vocabulary lists, graphs, and charts appealed more than other activities to "rapid" and "normal" pupils. "Slow" pupils rated low the making of vocabulary lists, graphs, and charts, but found reading for discussion and working on maps appealing. Dramatizing and making murals were rated high in appeal by all pupils.

Values and attitudes. Few studies were reported in the area of values and attitudes. More research activity might be expected in an area toward which social studies shows such sensitivity and expresses much concern. One difficulty may be that few value measuring instruments have been developed that fit easily into social studies program interests. In two of the studies a major task was to develop an appropriate research instrument.

Anthony (2) conducted an exploratory study to investigate contradictions in beliefs among ninth- and twelfth-grade students. An experimental instrument, the *Contradictory Inventory*, was developed to measure contradictory beliefs in the areas of sex, courtship and marriage, economics, prejudice, nationalism and patriotism, social class, and religion and morality. Anthony administered her validated inventory to 118 students in the ninth grade and 90 students in the twelfth grade. Comparison scores showed no significant differences between ninth-grade and twelfth-grade girls, between ninth-grade and twelfth-

grade boys, or between boys and girls in ninth or twelfth grade.

Figert (17) developed a modified form of the adult *Dogmatism Scale* (Rokeach 1960) for use in grades 4, 5, and 6. Field tests indicate that the instrument does measure the same factors of open- and closed-mindedness among children that adult forms measured among adults.

Shalitta (47) compared certain value judgments of rural and urban secondary school students of high and low socioeconomic status. Among the general conclusions of the study, students from all groups were less concerned about copying in itself than they were about the degree of copying. With respect to alcoholic beverages, the majority of students agreed that total abstinence is the best behavior, though not the average behavior. Concerning sexual behavior, students of high socioeconomic status favored heavy petting, while a smaller proportion of older students, particularly the males and those of low socioeconomic status in the rural group, recognized as average behavior and also favored premarital intercourse if love is present.

Dawson (13) investigated the attitude change of students in his classes in current economic problems at New York University's School of Education. On the basis of a questionnaire given to each class from 1960 to 1963, he found that 31 percent of the students reported a change in attitude toward organized labor; ordinarily becoming more sympathetic. Those originally neutral were most likely to change and those originally sympathetic were least likely to change. The majority of social studies majors had pro-union attitudes both before and after taking the course; but they changed less than the group as a whole. Females changed more radically than males though both became more sympathetic toward unions. Nearly all students who changed stated that lectures had been instrumental. Fewer than a third of those changing their attitudes believed that textbooks or reading were influential.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER

Problems of academic and professional preparation of teachers were dealt with in three studies. In an effort to provide teachers with a minimum set of analytical tools and a systematic way of applying these tools, Saunders (44) reported that a new course in economics was designed at Carnegie Institute of Technology. The course centered on the teaching of three economic models: (a) a model based on the central economic problem of scarcity, (b) a basic supply and demand model of microeconomic price determination, and (c) a money-modified income and expenditures model of microeconomic equilibrium. Application units followed each of the core units giv-

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ing students an opportunity to apply their knowledge to policy problems.

Despite general student approval of the course, the Test of Economic Understanding, administered following the course, revealed no significant improvement over the results of past traditional courses. It was concluded that students were generally unable to apply economic analysis to current economic policy issues.

On the basis of questionnaire responses from historians of national prominence, Harper (26) developed a criterion of adequate academic preparation in American history. The college transcripts of a sample of American history teachers certified since 1961 in Colorado were then subjected to this criterion. Harper found that teachers of American history in Colorado were academically unprepared to teach that discipline. There was no difference in preparation from large city schools to small rural schools. The teacher who had majored in history in college generally taught world rather than American history. The social science major was inadequately prepared academically to teach American history. American history teachers taught combinations of subjects outside of history or the social studies in all types of schools studied. Academic preparation seemed to be no criterion for placement of American history teachers.

Today's critics of methods courses in teacher education may be denouncing course experiences no longer being practiced. This was the conclusion of Smith's (48) survey of 78 elementary education seniors. The students perceive methods courses as fulfilling a need, and 87 percent revealed they would have taken the courses even if not required. Only 6 percent believed certification should be allowed without professional education courses.

Recognizing that a major obstacle to intercultural understanding resides in the fact that people do not

always view their own culture in the same light as it is viewed by others, Kranyik (33) investigated images of Mexican culture from the view of 78 Mexican elementary teachers, 84 Connecticut elementary teachers, and eight fifth- and sixth-grade level social studies texts. Results from a questionnaire which included 16 cultural aspects indicated that the Connecticut teacher image of Mexico differed significantly from the textbook image in 14 of the 16 cultural aspects. The Mexican image significantly differed from the textbook image in 12 of the 16 aspects. Connecticut and Mexican teacher images differed from each other in nine of 16 cultural aspects. The three images differed from each other in five of 16 aspects, with close agreement in only one cultural aspect.

Vorreyer (53) analyzed teacher classroom behavior. Trained observers, using the Bales-Gerbrands interaction recorder, simultaneously categorized the observed behavior of 14 teachers and 72 students during 2,312 two-minute time samples over a five-month period. Of particular interest was the effect of teacher behavior upon high-aptitude, low-achieving and normal-aptitude, normal-achieving fifth-grade students. Vorreyer found little variety in basic teacher behavior patterns. No significant relationship existed between student academic achievement and variety of teacher behavior patterns.

The study of Lazaro (34) identified and classified major ideas in the Yearbooks of the National Council for the Social Studies. Findings were: (a) the number and frequency of articles on curricular content and design has increased, (b) social studies in the high school is given more attention than they are at other grade levels, (c) research receives very little attention in the yearbooks, (d) continuing ideas have been found in the more recent periods and particularly in the last period, and (e) history leads in the number of articles dealing with subject-matter fields.

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RESEARCH REVIEW SIX

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Review of Research in Social Studies: 1965

by C. BENJAMIN COX, EMILY S. GIRAULT, AND LAWRENCE E. METCALF

THE STUDIES reported in this review represent the bulk of the professional and doctoral research reported in the literature during 1965. A reasonable attempt has been made to be selective in terms of design and relevance though obviously these judgments are less than perfectly defensible in light of the gross review defined by this task. The reader is urged to examine the more selective reviews in *New Challenges in the Social Studies* (47) for critical appraisals of recent studies. None of the articles included here is reviewed in that text, however. Also of significance to the social studies teacher is the careful and scholarly development of substantive and conceptual interpretations in *New Perspectives in World History* (17), a compendium of some note that appeared too late for inclusion in the 1964 review article. The reader who desires a more elaborate evaluation of some of the newer frontiers in educational research potentially important to social studies is referred to Phi Delta Kappa's *Simulation Models for Education* (19).

As in previous articles in this annual series, the studies have been categorized in a manner similar to that in Gross and Badger's review in the *Encyclopedia of Education Research* (28).

CURRICULUM

Research on general social studies curriculum has concerned itself largely with the identification of historical and current trends. Clarke (9) in tracing the twentieth-century developments in the social studies curriculum of Omaha, Nebraska, discovered a trend toward centralized planning and control. Sources of leadership in curriculum design have gone through three stages. From 1900-1918, the courses for each school were designed by department heads and principals. In the second era, 1918-1945, curriculum directors actively sought cooperation among schools. Between 1945 and 1963, superintendents asserted personal leadership, bypassing local leadership. Other influences in curriculum included national committees in the early period, educational theory in the second period, and international ideological struggles in the last period.

In order to determine how economic, social, and

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political changes had been brought into the social studies curriculum since 1958, Sjoström (70) surveyed by questionnaire the social studies teachers in high schools of over one thousand pupils in a 19-state area. The survey revealed a program similar to that recommended by the Committee on Social Studies in 1916, though some alterations are appearing. World history is becoming more elective, while United States history as a requirement is being expanded. The behavioral sciences are being introduced as separate courses. Curriculum changes are most often made by groups of teachers under the leadership of department chairmen. The nature of recent changes in public school social studies was analyzed by Wade (75) on the basis of questionnaire responses from the 50-state departments of education and an analysis of state and local curriculum guides. These analyses indicated a general unrest among educators and social scientists alike. Most state departments of education have completed or are in the midst of a major revision. All the social science professional organizations in the field have plans and projects for new curricula. The data further demonstrated high consensus that new social studies programs should emphasize content from the social sciences, be inquiry centered, utilize social science methodology, and selectively study in depth some eras, areas, or issues.

Social studies curricula have also been shaped by state legislatures, as demonstrated by McHugh's (50) thorough examination of this development in California. Legislative prescriptions mandating the elementary social studies curriculum have been effective since 1851, though not until 1961 did they deal with the secondary curriculum. Prescriptions have included uniform state textbooks, patriotic exercises, and state examinations, and have specified forbidden content such as partisan doctrine, propaganda, or racist material. McHugh identifies an antecedent to most legislation the effects of social forces, lay groups, and some educators. In general, however, educators and their organizations have had minimal influence on social studies legislation.

In an effort to appraise current trends in social studies developments, Fraser (21) reviewed most of the on-going major research projects in social studies. Among the foci of these projects are the following: conceptual frameworks, sequencing, readiness, the behavioral sciences, depth studies, a comprehensive world view, society's problems, inquiry, and a climate of experimentation and innovation. She suggests that most projects are beamed at able students with little attention being given to slow learners. Furthermore,

most projects are concerned primarily with the cognitive as opposed to the affective domain of learning.

Elementary curriculum. Concern for the elementary curriculum has been shown in research emphasizing theory and historical development. For example, Harmon (33) devised an analytic scheme applicable to social studies. His analysis produced the elements of *scientific* theory useful both for explanation and prediction and *normative* theory which functions to produce the justification of values and to provide the basis for value judgments. Harmon and Simon (32) illustrate a model for developing subject matter on three levels of pertinency. In level I they include facts, details, and specifics. Level II is subject matter that is generalization oriented. Level III refers to material that touches the personal life of the student. Clements (10) determined to answer for the elementary grades the basic curriculum question: "What should students *learn how to do* when they confront the various social studies topics?" He studied accounts of what anthropologists, sociologists, and historians do when they engage in inquiry. Three task-stages appeared: (a) the clarification of inquiry purposes, (b) the conduct of the inquiry, and (c) the report of findings. Elementary students should be challenged with each of these tasks if they are to approach history, sociology, and anthropology in a professional way.

Grossman (30) traced and compared a century of development of the elementary social studies curriculum in San Francisco and New York. He used syllabi, texts, and superintendents' reports to establish relationships between outside factors and curriculum decisions. Both cities showed early preoccupation with textbooks, the increasing influence of teachers in curriculum decisions, and the civic education emphases that followed the world wars.

Parker (57) produced one of a series of studies concerned with social science generalizations significant to each of 11 expanding communities of man. Selected sub-types of communities are described with particular emphasis on the metropolitan community and significant generalizations relevant to the study of local communities.

The conceptual development of elementary school children is treated in three well-designed studies reported in current research literature. First graders' awareness of selected geographic concepts was tested by Sheridan (69). The subjects, 55 first-grade students in Oregon, responded orally to a named concept and also selected pictures denoting the concept. Boys did better than girls, and former kindergartners did better than those in their first school experience. Direct contact, television, and parents were the most effective sources of knowledge about concepts.

Weber (77) found that sixth-grade students were unable to make predictions or draw inferences con-

cerning the influence of natural features upon man. This conclusion derived from his asking members of three sixth-grade classes to interpret a hypothetical map. He attributes the students' failure to interpret or predict to their inability to perceive and consider features simultaneously or in sequence, to understand the interplay of specific features, or to understand the relationships of specific features to more general factors or conditions.

That children have low-level awareness of the work of public officials was concluded by Greenstein (27) in an investigation of children's political conceptualization. Findings, based on this study of 659 students in grades 4 through 8, indicate that children rate the roles of political officials as more important than the roles of teacher, doctor, or religious leader, and that children generally evaluate as highly positive the performance of public officials. This positive evaluation decreases with the age of the student. While children give the same party preference as they report their parents having, they are unable to describe party differences. Lower social class subjects have less political knowledge and lower political aspirations than upper social class subjects.

Secondary curriculum. Curriculum at the secondary level has been viewed with respect to a number of variables in the following research reports. Finchum (20) examines the status and trends of social studies curriculum in Tennessee. Data for this study were derived from historical resources together with questionnaire responses from 141 supervisors of instruction. Significant findings include: (a) a trend toward an upper-grade unit on Tennessee, (b) the requirement in 88 percent of the school systems is only one unit of social studies for graduation, and (c) the development of units and courses treating political doctrines and systems other than democracy.

Curry and Hughes (13) questioned 904 Waco, Texas, high school students on their subject preferences in school. The total group of students ranked the five required subjects in the following order: First, physical education; second, English; third, science; fourth, social studies; and fifth, mathematics. Among the variables tested for correlation with these preferences, only two were found to have a significant relationship. Both social studies and English were more popular with Negro students than white students. Neither I.Q. ranking nor socio-economic status seemed to bear relevance to subject liking.

Sarafian (64) identified the "essential functional facts and generalizations" that should be known about California by high school graduates. In comparing 1,769 students with 416 adults, he found that seniors, except those having an elective course in California history, had an "inadequate" knowledge when compared with the adult sample. Sarafian con-

cluded that the elective state history course and recently required state and local government courses produce positive gains in knowledge about California.

Gross and Maynard (29) explored the history course offerings of 140 junior colleges sampled in various regions in the United States. Their findings revealed a domination of general courses in Western civilization and a minimum of offerings dealing with other important and growing regions of the world (e.g., Asia and the Orient).

The status of the economics course and considerations bearing on the teaching of economics were treated in three studies. Jones (35), asked 12,331 public and private high schools in the United States to respond to the National Association of Secondary-School Principals' questionnaire, "Inquiry About the Teaching of Economics." Among the half who responded, about 70 percent offered a separate course in economics. Seventy percent of these economics courses are elective, about 81 percent are one semester in length, and most are given in the twelfth grade. Only 46 percent of the non-public schools offer economics as a course. However, size of the school had little effect on whether economics was offered as a separate course. The NASSP survey indicated that 6.1 percent of all pupils in the last four years of high school now take economics. In 1948-49, the U.S. Office of Education found only 4.7 percent of all high school pupils enrolled in an economics course.

In assessing the adequacy of the preparation of economic teachers, it was discovered that over 82 percent of teachers in the survey had at least two years of college economics. In order to determine the present status of economics teaching, Green (26) looked at 125 available research reports and 739 related articles. He discovered that teachers approached economics from either a "cultural" or a "vocational" philosophy. The consistent objectives of economics teaching were ascertained to be: attitudes toward thinking, economic understandings, value appreciation, and economic skills and abilities. The lecture-discussion is the most used means of presentation though laboratory, problem solving, and project plans are sometimes employed. In contrast to the NASSP survey, Green found many secondary school economics teachers inadequately prepared even at a minimum level of six semester hours. On the basis of data gathered from 720 students in six high schools, Paul (58) found that grade level, higher grades in social studies, and more social studies courses are associated with higher economic understanding. Higher socio-economic level, living in the city, and being in a college preparatory course of study also contribute

to high scores. Intelligence, a course in economics, and being a boy were also effective variables.

The thesis that history and geography are becoming "de-fused" was tested by Mayo (48) who traced the history of teaching geography in the secondary schools. He concludes that the historical separation of the two fields, "recent professional activities and attitudes, and European influences are contributing factors in this separation. His survey of the present status of geography teaching in the United States and Canada demonstrates that both nations are apparently moving toward geography as a separate course. The Canadian curriculum is moving more rapidly toward the separation of courses, while decentralization of the United States school system seems to retard this trend in the United States.

On surveying the teaching of psychology in the public school, Nebergall (54) discovered a wide variety in the content of the course, quality of the teaching, and requirements for certification. Though psychology has been taught in public schools for over a century, its teaching remains heavily textbook centered and non-problem-solving oriented.

Trevaskis (72) has devised a classification of substantive concepts to guide a college instructor in teaching about climate and suggests the same strategy could be extended to other grades and topics. The classification includes the dimensions of the concept itself, levels of understanding, and sets of knowledge appropriate to each level and dimension.

Ghosh (24) developed three series of curricular experiences affording citizenship training for youth of India. The conceptual framework for his model was derived from a comparative study of American citizenship programs and an economic and social analysis of Indian educational affairs.

INSTRUCTION

Methods. The utility and flexibility of programmed instructional materials have been examined in six studies. The hypothesis that geographic information can be successfully programmed and that slow pupils may learn more in this way than by text reading was tested by Shafer (66). She developed material on the geography of Argentina and Brazil programmed in a linear fashion and based on operant conditioning. In this experiment the control group, an average ninth-grade class, read text material on each of the two countries, participated in a discussion on economic development, and was tested on the text material. The experimental group, a slow class, used the programmed materials as an alternative to reading the text, participated in an identical discussion, and took the same test as the average class. The experimental results supported Shafer's contention that slow learners might find the programmed material more

effective in learning and that certain geographic information is adaptable to programing.

Two studies using programed materials over differing time spans allow consideration of the effectiveness of long-term programed instruction as against short-term units. A comparison of a programed six-day unit with the conventional unit in five Iowa junior high schools was carried out by Moore (53), using 60 subjects divided randomly into experimental and control groups. Programed instruction was demonstrated to be 27 percent more efficient in learning time than conventional instruction. Students with the highest reading scores experienced the greatest saving of instructional time under programed instruction. No significant differences appeared, however, between the over-all mean scores for the control and experimental groups; nor did mean scores for conventional and programed instruction groups vary significantly from one reading level to another. Otting (56) compared learning outcomes of classes using programed materials for one semester with conventionally taught classes. The procedure involved the use of 20 programed chapters by four twelfth-grade American government classes. Each of these classes was paired with a class taught by the same teacher using a conventional textbook treatment. The study found the programed material to be more efficient in total time involved. Enthusiasm for the programed material was very high at first but was reduced significantly over a full semester. Students' dissatisfaction with the experimental treatment was related to the limitation on group work and discussion. More able students favored the program and its possible further use.

The use of programed material for home instruction was explored by Barcus and Pottle (2). These investigators report on efforts in the Denver Public Schools to change the method of teaching about the Constitution. In the study, 30 ninth-grade control classes were taught the Constitution in the usual way. Thirty matched experimental classes did a short programed homework assignment each night, then participated in discussions the following day emphasizing interpretation and historical background. On the 70-item post-test, the experimental group had a median gain of 20 points, while the control group gained only 12 points. Performance on the same test three months later still favored the experimental classes.

Programed instruction is ordinarily designed for use with individual students. Farber (18) determined to examine whether students working in small groups could reinforce each other's learning. Using a program on comparative government, he tested whether one person's correct responses on material he commanded exclusively could further the progress of the

entire group. Though the experimental groups did better than non-programed controls on a follow-up achievement test, the attempts to promote group identity produced no difference in test scores. All subjects did better on their "own" material than on that held by other group members.

Tuel and Metfessel (73) compared the learning produced by programed material eliciting different "response modes." The overt response mode, requiring subjects to write out their responses, produced higher immediate mastery of more difficult material. In tests of delayed retention, however, overt responding was no more efficient than the covert response mode where subjects had "merely consciously thought of or visualized their responses."

The use of a case-study approach and simulative methods is reported in two studies. A case-study method of teaching the Bill of Rights was tested by Jones (57) who designed both the case unit and assessment instruments. He found that teachers using cases were more successful in motivating slower or disinterested students.

Cherryholmes (7) made a successful classroom adaptation of Harold Guetzkow's simulations of international relations developed at Northwestern University. Cherryholmes used and tested this adaptation in a six-week unit in a college preparatory American government course. The gaming situation places hypothetical countries in a controlled interactive context. Each state, represented by three students, is granted certain basic capabilities in the form of goods, skills, and services which may be invested internally in specified ways, exchanged in foreign trade, given in aid, or used to purchase military might. The direction and outcome of any specific gain is determined by the interactions and decisions of the players. Students, to a great degree, enjoyed and felt they profited from the simulation experience. Student motivation remained at a high level throughout the unit. Two-thirds of the students reported that the experience was more meaningful than a series of lectures could have been and helped them understand the current scene. The evaluative data supported the hypothesis that students would learn to appreciate the complexities in international relations and would come to favor more centralized and efficient decision-making procedures. Furthermore, the students appeared to shift more toward "realistic" attitudes in foreign affairs rather than "idealistic" ones. Categorically "right" policies tended to be decreasingly valued in the face of difficult problems (i.e., a priori generalizations about international relations tended to be replaced by explicit and pragmatic judgments).

Television instruction has been examined by Reese (62), Kelley (39), and Edinger (15). Reese de-

veloped a conceptual model for adapting an American history course to instructional television. The plan stresses a reflective approach and includes guidelines for creating an effective climate and for assessing pupil progress. Roles of the studio and classroom teacher are delineated. Kelley analyzed 300 comparative studies of television vs. non-television instruction in English, mathematics, science, and social studies. Television-taught students did significantly better than their matched controls in one out of four cases and in most other cases did just as well. However, the lack of precision and the inadequate controls in most testing situations make judgments of "success" or "failure" inappropriate. Nevertheless, "open" periods for teachers are made available by the use of television, fewer additional teachers are needed, and double shifts in certain schools have been avoided. Edinger compared a sample of classes that had television instruction with those that did not, though taught by the same teacher in each school. She found that television teaching can be a significant factor in promoting listening comprehension, and that students develop critical thinking skills as well in television classes as in conventional classrooms.

Uslan (74) made use of short-wave radio as a means of transmitting certain geographic concepts to fifth-grade pupils. After a 16-week experimental period, the 34 pupils subjected to the radio technique measured significantly better on the teacher's written and audio tests and the *Sequential Tests of Educational Progress* social studies subtest than did the matched control group taught in a less dramatic way.

Flexible and varied grouping of both teacher and student personnel continues to be a source of experimental data. MacCalla (45) applied some features of team teaching to an interdisciplinary program featuring United States history and American literature. The effect of this instruction was compared with the traditional approach of separate classes with non-team teachers. In evaluating this approach, it was found that the team effort produced better learning results, provided a wider variety of experiences to students, and forced them into a more active role in their own learning. The coordinated interaction of a team made for better use of staff time and provided an increased opportunity for professional growth.

Christensen (8) treated an experimental arrangement of a freshman geography course at Southern Illinois University. The control subjects received large-group lecture hall treatment. The experimental subjects received the same instruction by means of closed-circuit television but met in small groups with graduate assistants. Final examination scores indicated no differences between the experimental and the control groups. Students "felt," however, that

they paid closer attention to the TV screen, imagined an acquaintance with the "teleprof," and thought graduate assistants attending the lectures with them afforded more individual attention. TV teaching required more planning time of the professor.

Schools in Montgomery County, New York, offered a summer school honors course for junior and senior high school students on Latin American affairs. The course design provided for a teaching team to employ a combination of lectures and small group discussions. The lectures were presented by a social studies specialist in Latin America, while the discussion and study periods were supervised by two English teachers who worked with reading and note-taking skills. The course plan also included a visit to a Foreign Policy Conference on Latin America at Colgate University. The results reported by Ellison (16) suggested to observers and teachers that both junior and senior high school students respond positively and enthusiastically to the team arrangement, the flexibility of group size, and to the augmented use of "outside" resources.

Zweibelson, Bahnmueller, and Lyman (78) report an aspect of a controlled project in a junior high school where three hundred seventh-, eighth-, and ninth-grade students, previously grouped in four ability levels, were rescheduled into heterogeneous team-taught groups allowing large and small group instruction in social studies. Each team group was matched with homogeneous classes. Though achievement after the year's instruction did not differ between the experimental and control groups, the team-taught group demonstrated better attitudes toward social studies, teachers, and school. Team teachers reported improvement in group discipline and motivation—especially among lower ability students. Brighter students appeared to become less "snobbish" following the heterogeneous team exposure, though they may not have received as much subject-matter "depth."

The use of variable groupings in a large summer session world history class was explored by Maish and Peryon (46). The attempt was to offer students an opportunity to assist in the formation of small groups. In part, groups were formed on the basis of the students' interest in history and their self-assessments of reading ability, leadership qualities, and independence. Varied instructional activities included large group lectures and audio-visual presentations, small group discussions, and discussion in two regular sized classes. Students liked the activity of dealing with problems in small groups, but more believed that they derived greater value from the discussions in the regular sized classes. Large group lectures were neither preferred by many nor judged to provide much value.

Four studies compared different teaching methods

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or ascertained teacher preferences for different techniques. Jones (36) investigated the effect of a problems approach and a "main ideas" approach on fifth-grade children's expression of eight levels of hierarchical thinking embracing facts, concepts, and generalizations. Children taught by the main-ideas approach scored higher on three of the four concept levels (concrete, qualified, and qualified abstract concepts). Those in the upper quarter intelligence level of this group scored higher on qualified facts. Girls scored higher than boys in most of the fact and concept categories, but boys did better than girls with respect to relevant generalizations.

Watts (76) pre-tested a large group of sixth-grade pupils by an achievement test reflecting most of the geographic concepts that appeared in state-adopted geography and social studies texts for fourth and fifth grades. The researcher used a different presentation in each of five groups to reteach the various concepts. A post-test, using the same instrument, showed significantly greater gains for those pupils having studied three-dimensional models and transparencies. Filmstrips also proved fairly effective; but verbal definitions were least effective of all. The degree of concreteness of the mode of presentation correlated positively with gains. Barratt (3) compared the effect of two teaching methods on the growth of eleventh-grade students with respect to critical thinking, use of sources, and factual mastery. One class of American history was taught by recitation-lecture; another class the following year was taught by a classroom-laboratory method. Little or no differences were observed in any of the variables.

Gandy (22) surveyed 38 teachers in 18 public schools in California to ascertain their evaluation of 23 techniques and devices in teaching geography, the extent that these were used, and the availability of necessary facilities, materials, or equipment. He discovered a high correlation between teacher opinion of an instructional procedure and the extent to which it was used. Map-exercises and textbook assignments ranked first and second, both according to teacher opinion and use. Field trips, dramatizations, independent work, and correspondence with foreign students, ranked low by opinion and use. Room, film, and equipment-scheduling problems associated with the use of films and filmstrips apparently limited the use of these media.

Another study devised a means of analyzing classroom behaviors. Block (6) recorded and analyzed 32 elementary social studies and language arts lessons in seven suburban communities. Under the assumption that each unit of classroom behavior includes a goal, a focus, and an operation, she produced a model of classroom discourse from which she was able to determine four indexes of classroom interaction: cogni-

tive interaction, creative interaction, pupil initiative, and cognitive progression. Her analysis of lessons in terms of sequences of "action units" directed by goal, focus, and an operation, offers a positive means of changing teacher-pupil interactions and planning for more continuity in learning experience.

Controversial issues. The treatment of controversial issues received little attention in the literature. Kirby's (41) appraisal of teacher and principal attitudes toward controversial issues was drawn from interviews of 106 social studies teachers and 20 principals. Interviewees agreed that schools are obligated to deal with controversial issues. In the school year 1961-62, communism, race relations, nation, state and local politics, and religion were most frequently discussed in social studies classrooms. More attention was given to adult problems than to problems of concern to adolescents. A greater percentage of principals than teachers believed that the school had an obligation to deal with controversial issues. When McAulay (49) asked 648 elementary teachers if they included controversial issues in social studies, 80 percent said they did not. They revealed a confusion about the nature of an issue, however, tending to include students' personal problems (e.g. "child wetting himself") in their lists.

Critical thinking. Several dimensions of critical thinking were examined in a number of studies. These include the development of logical criteria, comparative methods, and student characteristics. Grandstaff's (25) study attempted to formulate an operational definition of critical thinking. This was accomplished by means of developing a set of criteria for critical-mindedness. Grandstaff states that the sequential movement through the stages of indication, discrimination, symbolization, explanation, hypothesis, and verification results in the bringing of problematic data into agreement with a settled conceptual system.

Possien (61) used three teaching methods in dealing with map problems in three sixth-grade classes. Her findings indicate that students trained in the use of inductive procedures exhibit some characteristics of effective problem-solving behavior more frequently than pupils taught by the deductive and deductive-causal methods. These differences were especially great with respect to the students' general approach to a problem, the mechanics of attacking the problem, and their understanding of the ideas contained in the problems.

Creutz and Gezi (12) tested the teaching of current events to ninth- and tenth-grade students designed specifically to emphasize the critical-thinking skills of "evaluation, interpretation, identification of causal relationships, awareness of trends, and effec-

tive use of informal resources." The matched experimental and control groups showed no differences on a critical-thinking pre-test; but by the end of the experimental period, the control group had lost significantly in its ability to perform on the test while the experimental group gained significantly in its test performance. The researchers concluded that purposeful instruction in critical thinking, using current events content, can be successful in the classroom.

Ways in which successful and unsuccessful problem solvers dealt with social studies problems were examined by Peake (59). Twenty "best" and 20 "poorest" problem solvers were interviewed and asked to "think aloud" the solutions to ten STEP problems. The tape-recorded interviews were scored by means of a checklist that identified basic aspects of problem solving. Peake discovered that successful problem solvers understood better what was required of them, had more useful knowledge, were better able to relate their knowledge to the problem, and attacked problems with more assurance and confidence. Peake's checklist was found to discriminate between successful and unsuccessful problem solvers at the .05 level.

Shaver and Oliver (68) report their attempts to develop a curriculum focusing on the citizen as a political analyzer and participant in public policy decisions. The course of study was designed to be taught within the traditional geography and U.S. history sequence of the seventh and eighth grade. They asked, in effect, if curriculum and method could promote the development of critical thinking concepts in secondary school students. Scores on project-developed tests demonstrated that junior high students can be taught to think conceptually and use these concepts as criteria in dialogue and evaluation. The project students, furthermore, exhibited as great a mastery over U.S. history information as did their matched controls. The experimental teachers also attempted to determine whether a "Socratic" style or "recitation" style of teaching would affect the results on any of the measures. The lack of significant differences resulting from different styles appears to indicate that the use of an explicit conceptual framework is more important than the playing of one teaching style or another.

Creative thinking is often associated with critical thinking. One study re-examines some assumptions about creativity and intelligence. Klausmeier and Wiersma (42) tested conclusions of Getzels and Jackson that high I.Q. and high creativity are not necessarily associated. These researchers felt that the previous sample was too limited to make the general claim that low I.Q.'s may perform as well as high I.Q.'s on divergent thinking tasks. Getzels and Jack-

son's subjects had ranged in I.Q. scores from 108 to 179. Klausmeier and Wiersma divided their randomly selected seventh-grade students into low I.Q. (71-95), average I.Q. (96-114), and high I.Q. (115-141). The results of seven tests of divergent thinking and four tests of convergent thinking showed the low I.Q. group performing less well than the average group and the average group performing less well than the high I.Q. group. They suggest that such terminology as "high I.Q.-low creativity" and "low I.Q.-high creativity" is misleading when generalized outside of Getzels and Jackson's population.

The teaching of map skills was treated in two studies. Joyce (38) aimed to develop a systematic statement of map and globe skills, put them in grade placement categories, and validate them using judgments of a group of elementary teachers. As Joyce had hypothesized, various skills clustered around certain grade levels. The elementary teachers tended to place skills at a higher grade level than some experimental programs. The teachers' appraisals were related to their experience, grade, and the amount of time devoted to teaching map skills.

The map-reading abilities of college freshmen were compared with those of ninth-grade students by Miller (52) as a means of determining the gains made in map-reading skills during three high school years when no geography is taught. College freshmen were significantly better than the ninth-grade students in map-reading ability, but not so much as the grade difference might suggest. The inference is made that most map-reading ability comes from formal instruction rather than experience. While travel experience of the ninth-graders had no effect on map reading, Miller found a high correlation between map reading and I.Q., reading ability, and ability to visualize space relations.

Teaching materials and aids. The assessment of textbooks along the lines of several variables is reported in six studies. Three of these treat texts used at the elementary grade level. The reflection of policies toward minority groups in primary social studies books was investigated by Golden (23) who qualitatively analyzed the content of 13 "frequently used books" and 19 "infrequently used books." She examined and analyzed the books for their treatment of American Indians, Negroes, Orientals, European immigrants, and Jews in terms of Americanization, inclusion of differences, access to opportunities, and subordination. Exemplary of the findings is the expression of the subordination policy toward Negroes: No Negro adult is named in the books, given a speaking role, or pictured in any clothes but his occupational uniform. Textbook presentation of minority groups may not be meaningful for primary children.

An analysis of value treatment in social studies textbooks is reported by Lemmond (44) who compared four fifth-grade social studies textbooks no longer in use with five currently adopted ones. Lasswell's eight social values were adapted as analysis categories. The intention was to determine value loading in these texts. The older books indicated an orientation to the values of *wealth* and *power* with less material devoted to *affection* than to any other value category. The current books emphasized *respect* above all other values, followed by *power*, *wealth*, and *skill*. These texts do not alert students to the values of *affection*, *rectitude*, *enlightenment*, and *well-being*, other categories in Lasswell's framework.

Metzner (51) classified all known historical enrichment books for intermediate readers according to "Fiction," "Biography," and "Other Nonfiction," at three reading levels. In order to compare the representation of historical periods in this literature, he also arranged them in chronological topical order. Among the more than two thousand books in juvenile literature pertaining to American history, some periods are far better represented than others and no consistent balance among fiction, biography, and other nonfiction is apparent. Fewer books are available at the lowest reading level in all categories and most periods. Only half the Presidents are represented by individual biographies in this literature.

On the premise that an unlimited diversity of knowledge is the basic foundation of democracy, Perchlik (60) surveyed curriculum studies and social studies textbooks for their concern for the freedoms that support this conception of democracy. He identified nine basic freedoms as directly related to the expression and acquisition of knowledge, and found these to be poorly represented in social studies texts. Students are infrequently directed to the concerns of the freedoms of speech, press, demonstration, political action, education, and travel; and when such ideas are discussed, it is most often at a legalistic-moralistic level.

Bender (4) examined eight American history texts currently or recently approved for use in Catholic schools in Pittsburgh. In particular, he searched for distortion of topics sensitive to the Catholic church. He concluded that present texts are apparently not selected for their affirmative Catholic information, for they mention religion only in instances germane to history and then often report both good and bad facts.

Shaver (67) based his study on the conviction that social studies textbooks—as determinative features in many social studies classrooms—should present a conceptual framework for reflective thinking about social issues. He reviewed 93 textbooks in American government, American problems, and citizenship to determine the treatment accorded reflective thinking

and its evaluative elements. Aside from a general exhortive theme to "think critically," he found no systematic conceptualization of the pluralistic society and no intellectual strategies for handling its value conflicts. Shaver concludes that any classroom contribution to an increment in these skills can come about only through the teacher's efforts to go beyond the textbook.

In addition to the above described studies of text materials, Rodline (63) examined the availability of various news magazines in public schools. That the liberal press is poorly represented in school libraries in the state of Washington was demonstrated by this study. Rodline sent questionnaires to 220 high schools asking which of seven news, news-commentary, and general interest magazines were subscribed to by the school library. Fewer than half of the larger schools subscribe to the liberal magazines, *New Republic* and *Nation*, while virtually all these schools subscribe to *U.S. News and World Report*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *Life*, and *Readers Digest*. Among smaller schools, less than 5 percent subscribe to either of the liberal magazines while more than 90 percent subscribe to the five more conservative magazines. *Progressive*, an even more liberal magazine, was taken by only 11 percent of the big schools and none of the small schools.

Edgar (14) reported the project development at Queens College of materials for Negro and Puerto Rican children in deprived areas in New York City. The materials emphasize fiction and biographies that integrate a limited number of social studies concepts with other subjects, express clear goals, and entail simple teaching methodology to help insure repeated success experiences. The project plan includes supportive supervision for new teachers and a focus on feelings, motivations, and values.

Values and attitudes. It may be fallacious to assume that the few studies reported in this section comprise a valid quantitative index of the concern of social studies researchers with attitudes and values. On the contrary, many of the studies reviewed above reveal a major interest in value questions. The results of the classification of studies for this article may indicate, however, that investigators are presently approaching the value question by means of textual and instructional treatment of values. That is, for reasons of design clarity, data accessibility, or other research convenience, investigators have absorbed themselves with questions about the "official" treatment of values in textbooks and in instruction, rather than grappling with the actual attitudes and values students themselves bring into and take away from the social studies classroom.

With a view toward improving civic education in

high school. Trenfield (71) constructed and administered a Likert-type scale of 30 civic activities to a sample of three hundred tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-grade students. The students were asked to rate their expected participation in such adult activities as "serve on a jury," "work on a charity drive," "run for public office," and so forth. Correlations were calculated between these expectations and a variety of factors. The civic participation of parents and the students' participation in extra-class activities were found to produce the highest correlations. Newmann (55) studied the criteria used by high school students to justify their acceptance of authorities who make public decisions. He interviewed a sample of 72 twelfth-grade boys in two Boston public schools. Each subject was asked to justify his choice of the authority whom he felt should determine policy on certain public issues. The responses were judged in terms of eight justifications: competence, loyalty, impartiality, group will, efficiency, tradition, autonomy, and favored policy. The most frequently used criteria in justifying authority were competence and loyalty. The least used criterion was tradition. Of greater importance, the investigator feels, is the demonstration that the acceptance of authority rests upon distinguishable criteria and that such potential diagnosis may be highly useful in the analysis of public controversy.

TEACHERS OF SOCIAL STUDIES

The preparation of social studies teachers was treated in two studies. Hahn (31) ascertained that schools tend to discount the relevance of political science preparation for social studies teachers. Forty-seven of the 50 states have statutory provisions requiring some kind of instruction in citizenship, and 41 states require courses in the Constitution of the United States. However, many of these same states do not require subject-specific preparation for civics teachers, and a considerable proportion of the social studies teachers in many states are without any college-level training in political science.

That junior high school teachers had not planned professionally to teach at that level, but now favor separate junior high certification was determined by Kirby (40). A sampling of Colorado junior high teachers responded to questionnaires concerning professional and academic education, junior high teaching, and junior high accreditation. Despite the favorable stance on separate credentials, the responses revealed that these teachers seldom continue their graduate work in courses directly related to junior high teaching. Few had student taught in junior high schools and most looked back on their academic preparation as more valuable than their professional work.

In a questionnaire study of the methods and mate-

rials used by social studies teachers, Lea (43) analyzed teacher responses in terms of the amount and variety of reading materials they used in the classroom. The analysis revealed greater differences in the amount rather than in the type of reading material. Little use was made of magazines, newspapers, radio, or television. The teachers who used more materials also made more extensive use of unit planning, had had longer student teaching experiences, and received more in-service training. Students of these teachers demonstrated greater gains in achievement in reading and language arts and reported a more positive attitude toward social studies.

Colovas (11) examined the participation of social studies teachers in community and professional organizations. Degree of participation was scored on a scale ranging from "0 points" for new membership to "5 points" for leadership. The teachers were found to belong to an average of 12 organizations with an over-all participation intensity of 3.6. Teachers participated with most intensity in organizations related to their personal economic, professional, and social needs.

Both Hutcherson (34) and Astin (1) explored variables of teacher-pupil interaction. Hutcherson investigated the correlates of teacher-pupil compatibility. The interpersonal perceptions of teachers and students were determined by using the Schutz FIRO measures. Sex, socio-economic level, grades in social studies, and achievement and intelligence scores all correlated significantly with some aspect of teacher-pupil compatibility.

In a large-scale investigation of college environments, Astin found evidence that instructor behavior, student behavior, and instructor-student interaction differ systematically in various curricular fields. Social science classes afforded students the least individualization, and social science instructors showed a relative lack of involvement with their students. They were comparatively unlikely to know students' names, to see students in their offices, or to have students as guests in their homes. Social science instructors also ranked low in the degree of classroom interaction with their students. Further analysis suggested that differences in classroom environment are somewhat independent of class size.

Bissmeyer (5) tested the effect of communication and leadership patterns among social studies teachers on their use of instructional films. Differences in film usage were not found to exist between identified leaders and non-leaders.

In a descriptive study of social studies methods teachers, Searles (65) identified several generalized factors. Their university training, at every level, included both content and professional education. Fifty percent of the doctorates were in education; 57 percent of the masters degrees were in history or the

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social sciences. Seventy-four percent had one to ten years of high school teaching experience. In terms of recency, 38 percent taught high school within the last ten years, and 12 percent are currently teaching high school. In comparing these findings with a 1957 study, Searles discovered that a greater percent (42 percent) are now teaching history and/or social

science in combination with education than there were in 1957 (37 percent). With this exception, there was little evidence of change in the last decade, and no innovations were reflected in the training of the social studies professor. The study further concluded that there is no appreciable increase in the number of doctorates in social studies.

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RESEARCH REVIEW SEVEN

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Review of Research in the Teaching of Social Studies: 1964

by SYLVIA E. HARRISON AND ROBERT J. SOLOMON

THE research reported here and cited in the accompanying bibliography includes published and unpublished research conducted or published during 1964.¹ An attempt has been made to limit this review to those studies whose standards of design and method were reasonably rigorous. Ongoing research has been cited where it was deemed worthwhile, but no attempt has been made to cover this area comprehensively. The organization of this review was adapted from that used by Gross and Badger in their article on social studies research in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (38).

The reader's attention is directed to the American Educational Research Association series, *What Research Says to the Teacher* (1). At present there are thirty publications in this series, each of which is devoted to a given teaching area or problem and has been prepared by an outstanding researcher in the area. Two of the publications relevant to social studies instruction are "Teaching the Social Studies" and "Understanding Intergroup Relations."²

CURRICULUM

In the past few years we have seen the initiation of a number of projects concerned with social studies curriculum development for grades K-12. In preparing a summary of these projects, Harrison (43) communicated with the directors of the major projects requesting a brief description of their objectives, activities to date, and plans for the future. Apparent

The Research Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies has assumed the responsibility of publishing annual reviews of research in the teaching of the social studies.

For this review, we are especially indebted to SYLVIA E. HARRISON, Research Assistant in the Test Development Division of the Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, and ROBERT J. SOLOMON, Associate Chairman of the NCSS Research Committee and ETS Vice President for General Programs, Test Development, and Statistical Analysis. The other members of the 1964 Research Committee were: Robert Cooke, Chairman, Ralph W. Cordier, Howard H. Cummings, Jean Fair, Ferna Fancett, William J. Fisher, Richard E. Gross, Edith Louis, John D. McAulay, Walter McPhie, Lawrence Metcalf, Evelyn Moore, Franklin Patterson, Thomas Powell, James P. Shaver, and Edith West.

in the responses were trends toward (a) the development of sequential curriculums for grades K-12 such that a year's course would build on the skills and concepts introduced in previous years; (b) elimination of much of the unnecessary repetition of content inherent in the traditional fifth-, eighth-, and eleventh-grade American history sequence; (c) area studies and study-in-depth of selected topics; (d) communicating to students the methods of inquiry of the social scientist; (e) greater use of readings, case studies, and primary sources; (f) greater emphasis on developing skills of inductive thinking and critical analysis; and (g) greater emphasis on the affective as well as the cognitive outcomes of instruction.

Elementary level. There is a growing body of literature on the interests and abilities of elementary school children and the way in which these interests and abilities are reflected in current curriculum practices. In an attempt to determine the extent to which this age group has interests beyond its immediate environment, Smith and Cardinell (184) studied the understanding that children in grades one through eight had of words with which all were somewhat familiar (e. g., honesty, India, river, Washington, world, etc.) and their reactions to these words. This study indicated that children have broad interests, that there is a need for more effective instruction in geographic terms at an earlier age, and that even children of kindergarten age have distinct, if erroneous, concepts of some social studies terms.

Arnoff (4) found that not only are second, third, and fourth graders acquainted with many terms in government before instruction, but that with instruction they are able to achieve a greater understanding of many concepts in local, state, and national government. At the end of the instruction period, more than 75 percent of the children in each grade knew the meaning of such terms as city manager, property tax, mint, congressman, ballot, split ticket, and campaign. Lowry (58) administered a test

¹ Research conducted from 1960 through 1963 was cited in the initial review of social studies research appearing in *Social Education*, May 1964, p. 277-292.

² A list of the titles can be obtained by writing to the American Educational Research Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

of 110 common social studies concepts to 287 second-grade children prior to their instruction in these concepts. That the children knew an average of 84.6 percent of the concepts led Lowry to recommend that administrators and teachers find means of assessing what children know before instruction and that children be given the opportunity to assist in setting up units of study by stating their particular interests.

After identifying 35 principles of physical geography deemed important in elementary school instruction and after assessing the knowledge sixth graders had of these principles, Brown (15) concluded that current teaching practices fall short in producing mastery of these principles. Greenblatt (37) similarly felt that sixth graders can learn more facts and form broader understandings pertaining, in this instance, to the geography of Mexico than is commonly expected. He recommends that social studies programs be examined with a view to broadening and extending the content. Dobbs (25) found that systematic instruction in time sense and chronology was beneficial to sixth graders and that there is an indication that the vocabulary of time words possessed by girls is more extensive than that of boys, but that boys are able to estimate time intervals more accurately than girls.

On the basis of her investigation, Miller (67) concluded that the Delaware Human Relations course, a program of "systematic instruction in human relations" for sixth grade, is a valid program for use in the classroom to "foster positive mental health."

Citing the results of various surveys, McAulay (60) discussed several possible trends in elementary school social studies. There appears to be a trend toward separating geography and history in grades 4 through 6, although there has been no research to indicate that fourth, fifth, or sixth graders are any more capable of understanding the disciplines when they are separated than when they are combined as social studies. Similarly, there appears to be a trend toward separating social studies from other areas of the curriculum and making it an entity unto itself even though, says McAulay, "the one crying need of our culture is to synthesize knowledge."

Kaltsounis (52) reported on an accidental but noteworthy finding connected with his attempt to identify the basic principles that are most current in the social sciences which he planned to use as the basis for evaluating the contents of major texts used in the elementary social studies curriculum. Fourteen professors representing all of the social sciences were informed of the purpose of his project and were asked to identify what they considered to be five basic principles of social science. Only one principle, the idea that human beings are social creatures, was listed by as many as three professors—a sociologist, a historian, and a political scientist. Most

of the professors limited their lists of principles to their own disciplines. Kaltsounis concludes, "Most of them appear to be either afraid to step out of their particular field and be more inclusive, or they ignore the need and the reasons for which elementary school social studies has to be inclusive of all social sciences."

Secondary level. In attempting to secure information that would lead to the identification of useful guidelines for administrators and others interested in the development, coordination, and improvement of a junior high social studies program, Bailey (8) sent questionnaires to principals and teachers in Nebraska schools. The responses indicated that recent efforts directed at the revision of the social studies program have not yet produced any clear-cut patterns for the schools to follow, that the lack of geographic concepts and skills is one of the major deficiencies in the backgrounds of students, and that the major weakness in the social studies program is the excessive scope of some courses.

Masia (64) discusses a survey to identify the major outlines of the secondary school social studies curriculum in the accrediting area of the North Central Association which covers 19 states. On sampling 368 public and private schools, it was found that the typical pattern of course offerings still reflects the recommendations of the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies: i.e., civics in the ninth grade; world history in the tenth; American history in the eleventh; and problems of democracy, or government, or a combination of government and economics in the twelfth; and that, generally, the number of semesters of social studies required for graduation and the number of elective offerings is proportional to the size of the school. One-third of the schools had added a course, usually an elective, to their social studies curriculum during the two years prior to the survey. Considerable time is being devoted to new content within the standard courses. Two-thirds of the schools have adopted special procedures for taking individual differences into consideration in instruction; the smallest schools constitute the remaining one-third of the schools surveyed. Based on his survey, Snyder (85, 86) gives a regional profile of the social studies curriculum in the Kansas secondary schools. He also finds that the present curriculum reflects the 1916 model and that, while many of the behavioral sciences have matured during this period, they appear to have received little consideration in the present social studies offerings.

In investigating the status of the Advanced Placement American history course and in comparing it with both honors courses and regular courses in American history, Campbell (16) found that the three courses are similar in that the content of each

combines topical and chronological approaches, places major emphasis on the political aspects of American history, and emphasizes the use of a basic text, and that all three use similar instructional methods. However, the Advanced Placement classes are not only smaller with an average of 16.7 students per class as compared with 24 and 26, respectively, for honors and regular classes, they also generally use a college-level basic text and emphasize essay testing more than the other two courses.

Because geography is presented primarily as a basis for studying and interpreting other subjects, it has not contributed directly to social studies education. According to Anderson (3), this in part explains why geography has not attained a more important place in the social studies curriculum at the secondary school level. After examining the status of and trends in secondary school geography as taught in schools in cities having populations of 10,000 or more in the North Central states, Anderson doubts that geography will emerge in the near future as a dominant feature of the secondary school social studies curriculum.

Joseph Schwartzberg (22), University of Pennsylvania, tested 100 randomly selected university students and reports that 47 percent could not locate Vietnam; that over 50 percent could not locate Yemen (one student had never heard of it) Cyprus, and Angola (which some confused with Outer Mongolia); 50 percent could not locate Hungary and Bolivia; 53 percent guessed the population of the Soviet Union within 20 percent of the actual figure, although answers ranged from ten thousand to six billion. He further reports that women and English majors, as separate groups, did poorly on the test and that political science majors did well. On the basis of his survey, Schwartzberg recommends that in the future geography be required of those who are found to be deficient on the basis of a proficiency test.

After administering the Survey of Economic Understanding to 3,908 high school seniors in California, Deitz (24) found that the group understood approximately 55 percent of the economic concepts, the understanding of which is considered by the National Task Force on Economic Education to be minimal for effective citizenship. Scores were related to sex, academic achievement, future academic plans, and political identification; college-bound boys who had high grade-point averages, who intended to affiliate with the Republican party, and who advocated less federal involvement in economic matters scored highest on the survey.

On the basis of the results of his nationwide survey of state requirements, recommendations, and courses of study for the teaching of communism, Gray (36) concludes that "while some state programs or policy statements are expressed in language more

temperate than others, none really permits a scholarly or objective study of the subject of communism." Eversull's study (29) deals with aspects of the unit on Americanism Versus Communism used in the public secondary schools of Louisiana and it is concerned with the personal backgrounds of the teachers, the materials and methods of instruction, and the content of the unit. The teachers feel that the State Department of Education should take the initiative in providing more definite guidelines and procedures to insure that the objectives sought in teaching this unit are achieved. Only 40 percent of the teachers to whom the questionnaire was sent responded.

On the basis of its survey of the requirements for citizenship education in the 50 states, the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government (90) reports that 47 states have made some statutory provision for instruction in citizenship and that 41 states require completion of work in citizenship education for graduation. For the most part, the statutory references are broadly stated and provide little guidance; they rarely stipulate when and for how long a course is to be studied, or whether the pupil must satisfactorily pass an examination in the course before graduation. The report concludes that there is great diversity, but that all school people desire to "strengthen the teaching of citizenship, particularly with respect to government and politics."

Pipich's investigation (73) of prevailing instructional practices in current events in four Salt Lake City high schools revealed that in assessing the effectiveness of instruction, social studies teachers were more concerned with evaluating the students' knowledge than with changes in students' attitudes. In assessing the knowledge of current events possessed by a sample of tenth and eleventh graders, Pipich also found that scores on a current events test showed positive correlations with the variety of instructional methods used by the teacher, the time students spent reading newspapers and magazines and listening to news broadcasts, and the number of different kinds of articles students read in the newspaper.

INSTRUCTION

Methods. Based on the proposition that each scholarly discipline has a structure of ideas that directs its investigations and organizes its findings, Joyce and Weinberg (51) selected the concepts of sociology to illustrate the process through which the central ideas of a social science can be translated into a form that young children can identify and use. The process involved: (a) identification of some structural ideas in sociology (i.e., norms, values, sanctions, and roles); (b) a search for forms that would enable children to observe examples of these concepts; (c) development of questions that would guide children in their search for examples of these

concepts (e.g., "What are some things that our teacher and principal expect us to do and would not like if we did not do?" "What is a good sport?"; (d) a series of conversations that would encourage third and fifth graders to examine the groups in which they live in terms of the "guiding" questions; and (e) analysis of the topics now taught in the elementary school social studies curriculum in order to determine where the structure of sociological ideas could be introduced to children and where these ideas would enhance the analysis of problems. Although this was an exploratory study, the data indicate that the "guiding" questions did lead the children to recognize concrete examples of sociological concepts.

When asked by Wilkinson (91) about their procedures for teaching concepts of democracy, interdependence, freedom, international relations, and intergroup relations, 30 teachers of grades 1 through 8 commented that much of what was taught about these concepts was provided through "day-to-day living in the classroom." More formal procedures included not only lessons and unit work but the study of current events, holidays, and biographies as well.

Stephens (87) found that a significant gain in those concepts related to telling time was made by kindergarten pupils who had received specific instruction in the concepts as compared with pupils who received only incidental instruction in telling time. Sher's project (82) demonstrates that children in the elementary school can learn facts and can acquire concepts in the social studies by doing certain folk and square dances when these activities are related to a given unit of work. Taylor (91) found no discernible differences in attitude toward social studies between those instructed by television and those instructed by conventional classroom procedures.

On analyzing concepts of social studies instructional methodology in American secondary education, Aziz (7) makes recommendations with reference to current concepts of social studies methodology in Pakistan. In particular, she recommends placing a greater emphasis on student needs in the selection of methods, giving less attention to formal examinations as a desirable end for instruction, placing more stress on socialized procedures, and increasing the emphasis on the social studies in teacher education institutions.

Marks (63) utilized some of J. Lloyd Trump's ideas on team teaching, small group discussions, individual study, and made generous use of audio-visual aids in teaching two summer courses in American history. He noted that 70 of the 72 students passed the final examination even though 30 percent of the group had previously failed this course at least once in high school. On the basis of a questionnaire, he concluded that the greatest learning took place in the small group discussions. Hunt (47) found that

with seventh graders academic achievement in social studies was not significantly affected by team teaching, but that achievement appeared to be more related to ability than to staff patterns.

Anderson *et al* (2) compared the use of the simulation method with the case-study method as a means of teaching decision-making in three political science courses at the college level. Although it had been hypothesized that students in the simulation group would exhibit greater interest, receive more feedback, be more explicit, master more facts, and grasp principles better than those in the case-study groups, results indicated that there were virtually no differences in the learning outcomes of the two methods. However, there were apparent sex differences in the effectiveness of the two methods to stimulate interest and promote feedback.

Coleman and Kuehe (76) are continuing their investigation of the effects of games with simulated environments at the level of secondary school education. The results of their first year's experimentation indicated that, although socioeconomic games obviously had a potential to motivate and teach, the mechanics of implementing these potentials on the computer was such that rapid feedback was not possible. For this reason, they turned their attention to simplifying the simulated environments hoping to devise noncomputer games. Thus the second year (1963-64) was devoted to the extensive development and testing of two types of games divorced from the computer: a career game and democracy games. The former is designed to give students experience in making the complicated decisions about education, employment, and family life that they will have to make in the future. The democracy games are designed to show the processes by which the differences of interest among members of a society are resolved, both at the community level and at the legislative level. The family game, which centers around certain problem areas of the parent-child relationship, and the school board game, which centers on collective decision-making on school budget items, are still in the early stages of development. Despite the mechanical difficulties, the computer games do provide advantages and an attempt will be made in the coming year to try a different approach in their development.

Frogge (30) compared the achievement of certain citizenship objectives attained by two groups of high school students. One group was taught a modern course in the problems of democracy in a reflective situation which emphasized the rational examination of issues, and the other group was taught in an authoritarian, text-oriented situation. The results indicated that there was no significant difference between the two methods in the achievement of the citizenship objectives, although the students in the

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reflective situation were shown to have a more positive attitude toward the teacher at the conclusion of the course.

Development of critical Thinking and Work-Study Skills. Massialas and Zevin (65) explored the dimensions and implications of teaching a class of 35 in a one-year course in world history through the method of discovery, or what Bruner calls the process of "figuring out." The teacher's attitude was nondirective, and primary use was made of historical documents. Results indicated that the students were able to participate in the process of discovery and inquiry, that is, in identifying and defining problems, devising alternative plans of attack, formulating working hypotheses from given data and from previous learning experiences, testing the hypotheses by drawing logical inferences and by gathering relevant information, and arriving at a theory or "grand generalization" which draws together all data and supporting hypotheses. It was also found that because of its game-like qualities, the method of discovery was highly motivating.

Davis (23) found that fourth, fifth, and sixth graders generally are not capable of satisfactorily distinguishing between fact and opinion as measured by a fact-opinion test. On the basis of this, he recommends more direct instruction in this skill. Using the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal and the Dogmatic Scale of Rokeach, Quinn (75) compared Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant secondary school students in public schools and Catholic students in parochial schools in terms of critical-thinking ability and degree of openmindedness. Both Catholic samples, and particularly the parochial school sample, made poor showings on the two measures when compared with non-Catholics. Quinn relates his findings to the performance of Catholics in the fields of scholarship and research.

McAulay (62) made extensive use of maps and map projects in a fourth-grade unit on the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. He found that fourth graders can acquire map skills and understandings that are integrated in an ongoing social studies unit; that is, it does not seem necessary to teach these skills and understandings as separate entities. Schiller (79) found that the systematic and functional use of work-study skills among seventh graders does result in the mastery of the skills and does promote a significant increase in achievement in geography. Root (77) found that grade-point average in history showed a significant increase when students participated in a speed-reading course.

Teaching Materials and Aids. After examining the historical personages included in 11 fifth-grade texts, Guzzetta (40) concludes that fifth-grade social studies

courses seem to concentrate on the political theory of America and that little effort is made to introduce students to the cultural and intellectual developments in American history. There is little general agreement among the texts on the choice and number of specific historical figures or on the emphasis these figures receive. It was also found that before receiving formal instruction in American history, fourth graders already have a knowledge of individuals and events that are historically important and that this knowledge increases significantly with instruction in the fifth grade. Dusenbery (27) examined fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade social studies and geography texts in order to determine what changes have been made since 1915. She found that maps and illustrations are more colorful, that photographs outnumber drawings, that there has been an increase not only in the number of maps but also in the representation of physical features on the maps, and that the length of sentences has been reduced.

In analyzing world history texts published between 1900 and 1959, Cremer (18) found that between 1900 and 1920 idealistic purposes were emphasized and that between 1930 and 1959 concepts of internationalism and the need of the world citizen to understand the past were emphasized. He found that over the entire period the space devoted to ancient and medieval periods of history and to European history had decreased; that the space devoted to modern and Far Eastern history had increased; and that although the actual number of students enrolled in world history courses had increased, the percentage of students had declined. After examining primary and secondary school social studies textbooks that have been published in Mexico and Argentina since 1956, Perrone (71) concludes that the United States is not only studied but that it is given more space than any other foreign country, even though the treatment accorded the United States is somewhat dated and unbalanced; Argentine texts emphasize American institutional history, whereas Mexican texts emphasize the Mexican War and American imperialism. Perrone feels that the United States is not portrayed in a manner that would effect the understanding necessary to help an Argentine or a Mexican student to "interpret present-day America realistically." The results of Vekward's investigation (6) to determine the amount and kinds of concepts from cultural, anthropology, sociology, and psychology found in fifth- and sixth-grade social studies texts, lead him to conclude that these texts do not make use of ideas from the behavioral sciences to any appreciable extent.

Using teachers as judges, Mingle (68) appraised reading materials appropriate for the third-grade social studies program in the schools of Dade County, Florida. Of 84 books examined, only 18 were rated

"fair" as teaching aids; no books were rated higher. One-third of the books were rated appropriate for their level of difficulty; two-thirds were considered appropriate for their level of interest to third graders; no books were considered to be directly related to the objectives which refer to the local community; that is, none of the books dealt directly with Dale County. This lack of appropriate materials dealing with the history, geography, economy, and social characteristics of a given community has prompted Harkness (42) and Servetter (80) to write their own texts for use with upper- and middle-elementary school children in Colorado and in Livonia, Michigan, respectively. Johnson (88) is presently investigating the amount, scope, readability, quality, educational suitability, acceptance and use in schools of materials printed by governmental agencies and private organizations for conservation education.

Curtis (21) found that students in a world history course who participated in a "saturation enrichment" program that generously used various audio-visual aids did no better on various achievement measures than students whose instruction utilized more conventional approaches. Wood (95) found that ninth graders using programmed materials in geography learned factual material significantly better than students taught by more traditional methods. Even so, the results of a nationwide survey by the Center for Programed Instruction indicate that of all the schools using programed instruction, only 3 percent are using this type of instruction in their social studies programs.

Activities and Projects. Cuban (19) describes the Cardozo Peace Corps Project in Urban Education, the aim of which is to attract and train teachers who can "connect-up" with inner-city youth through the development of meaningful curriculum materials. It is felt that certain characteristics associated with many Peace Corps Volunteers would be effective within the urban school setting. The rationale for instruction in history is to teach a course that will be relevant for and as interesting as possible to urban youth. Primary and secondary sources, poetry, and fiction are used. One intern-teacher has used excerpts from Genesis and the Babylonian myths to demonstrate cultural diffusion; another has had the students study the Boston Massacre from the viewpoint of Crispus Attucks, whom few realized was a Negro.

The Lexington Project on the study of mankind was participated in by 24 college-bound seniors who met several times a week for 12 to 15 weeks. As described by Lyons (59), this pilot project "was an attempt to bring the crucial problems of man into the high school curriculum; to provide conceptual tools necessary for solution of such problems; to raise philosophical questions especially concerning the

values which underlie these problems and solutions; to study specific cultures where many and even contrary values are often realized; and lastly, to focus upon the question of what values, if realized, could make for a community of mankind."

Attitudes and Values. Doyle (26) surveyed 500 junior high school students in order to ascertain their feelings about the recitation of prayer in school. Results indicated a high degree of acceptance, especially among girls. This acceptance existed over all three grades, although it did decrease from the seventh to the ninth grade. Additional findings (e.g., whereas 90 percent of the sample indicated that they favored a religious exercise, only 60 percent indicated that it mattered whether or not prayer was continued; 77 percent responded that prayer served a good purpose in the school, but only 63 percent of these could identify such a purpose) led Doyle to hypothesize that the initial reaction of the junior high school student to the recitation of prayer was one of apathetic acceptance of a routine.

A Scholastic Research Center poll (5) of 7,000 junior and senior high school students showed that in the last election, 72.5 percent favored Johnson, 22.8 percent favored Goldwater, but that 84.2 percent of the total sample expected Johnson to win. Over 50 percent of the students preferred the Democratic party and more than 25 percent preferred the Republican party. Almost 33 1/3 percent who favored the Republican party preferred the 1964 Democratic ticket, but less than 6 percent of those who favored the Democratic party preferred the Republican ticket.

McAulay (61) requested 75 first- and second-grade teachers to record their pupils' reactions and comments on the Tuesday following President Kennedy's funeral. Their comments could be divided into the following five general categories: (a) Five percent of the comments were somewhat negative; e.g., "I missed all the programs because of the funeral." (b) Fifteen percent indicated the children's empathy with the Kennedy family; e.g., "Who will be Caroline and John John's father now?" (c) Eighteen percent were concerned with President Kennedy's role and his platform; e.g., "He wanted cereal (civil) rights." (d) Twenty-four percent revealed the children's interest in the shooting of Oswald; e.g., "I saw him really do it." (e) Thirty-eight percent were concerned with the personality of President Kennedy himself; e.g., "He worked hard." "He liked to shake hands." On the basis of these reports, McAulay feels that these children appeared to have gained some understanding of a "great, but tragic national event," and he makes recommendations for directing their interest in and understanding of this event in course work.

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Barnes (10) describes a study in which an international group of educators formulated a series of questions to be administered to 100 "upper-form" male students in the urban areas of 15 countries. The questions sought to identify student perceptions on various issues. Among the findings are the following: political and social injustices were cited most frequently as the major causes of world tension; inhibiting factors that might prevent one from reaching some goal in life seemed to fall into four classifications with personal weaknesses and economic conditions accounting for approximately 70 percent of all responses; in all but two countries (Colombia and the Sudan) a majority of students favored free expression for political opposition groups; the purposes of education were related most frequently to the acquisition of culture and knowledge and to the development of critical thinking. The varying opinions expressed led Barnes to conclude that "our penchant for grouping large blocks of people together—the Arab world, Far Eastern cultures, the emerging nations—and representing them as relatively homogeneous in character is in need of examination."

Hoerger (16) surveyed the opinions on international relations held by secondary school students in England and America and found no significant differences between the two groups; differences in the level of internationalism within each country exceeded the differences between the countries. Trenfield (92) found that the interest of students in eventually participating in civic activities in adult life was positively related to civic participation of parents, participation in high school activities, social studies achievement, etc. There was no increase in this interest during high school which he attributes to the existence of other factors that tend to counteract the positive influences during high school. Prentice (72) found wide variance between the actual behavior of elementary children as observed by their teachers and the children's reports of how other children would behave in certain citizenship situations. Teachers' predictions of the children's behaviors were found to be much closer to their actual behaviors than were the children's predictions of their classmates' behaviors. In assessing the citizenship education program in the secondary school of Davis County, Utah, and in measuring student knowledge of and reaction to democracy, White (93) reports that the students showed an inadequate understanding of their obligations as citizens of a democracy.

MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION

Bailey (9) describes his attempts to develop an instrument to measure the quality of thought a student could be expected to exhibit in social studies courses at the secondary level. He uses one- and two-

word questions designed to elicit concrete, functional, or abstract levels of thought in definition. In designing the questionnaire used in his survey referred to above, Hoerger was concerned with (a) using only those statements that would be pertinent and fair for the two nationalities, (b) offering statements that ranged from the easily accepted to the very demanding, and (c) eliminating the influences of specific points of view by using an equal number of internationalist and anti-internationalist statements. On the basis of his results, Hoerger concluded that it is feasible to develop a single, valid instrument that can be used in more than one country to test opinions on international relations.

Henson (44) describes the procedure she followed in assuring curricular validity in her development of an instrument for the measurement of social studies achievement in the primary grades.

To obtain evidence of the progress of junior high school children when compared with that of children of the same age and grade level thirty years ago, O'Connor (70) administered a 1932 form of the Metropolitan Achievement Test to 246 eighth graders of average ability. The results indicated that the children in the 1962 sample scored as well as their counterparts in 1932 despite disadvantages of outdated test content.

While investigating the intercorrelations among seven tests of competency in elementary school social studies, Coolsby (34) found that the intercorrelations were quite high, indicating little variance associated with tests which were intended to measure different aspects of achievement: skills, critical thinking, factual knowledge, and vocabulary. On the basis of this, he concluded that as the social studies are presently taught, at least in his sample of schools, there is little statistical justification for differentiating among these particular forms of competency. Curo (20) found no significant difference in achievement scores in American history between secondary school classes in which the teacher utilized daily preclass tests and those classes in which no use was made of such testing.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER

Hansen (41) surveyed the social studies programs in selected junior high schools in Wisconsin to determine the relationship of the programs to the professional preparation of the social studies teachers. He found that approximately 62 percent of the social studies teachers in the sample had neither a major nor a minor in any area of the social studies; that 18 percent had not been certified by the state to teach social studies; that none of the teachers in the sample who had a major in history was assigned to teach American history on a full-time basis; and that the most commonly taught units in the seventh and

ninth grades are also those for which the teachers are least prepared in terms of academic background. Hansen's recommendations include a re-examination of existing certification statutes.

Similarly, Black (13) found that the pattern of undergraduate training in the social sciences had little bearing on a teacher's initial assignment or later specialty; that despite the popularity of geography at the secondary school level, few teachers have adequate training in this area; that most teachers of state history have had no undergraduate work in this area; and that over a period of years, a social studies teacher might well teach in from two to five different areas. He also found that college advisers as well as teachers would favor patterning the undergraduate course so as to allow the teacher one area of concentration of 18 to 24 hours with collateral work in two or three other social sciences; principals, on the other hand, favored a pattern that would cover five social sciences and allow a concentration of from 15 to 18 hours in one. Bailey (8) also cites as one of the major weaknesses in the social studies program, the number of junior high school teachers assigned to teach subjects for which they are not prepared.

On questioning American professors of education in the field of secondary school social studies on their views of existing patterns and projected trends in teacher education, Brodbelt (14) found that the professors emphasized critical thinking, subject-matter competency, and the motivation of students. They also indicated that they would like to see a greater emphasis on the behavioral sciences in the high schools. Noxon (69) questioned professors of basic geography courses in state-supported teachers colleges on the significance they ascribe to the goal of "social conscience" (i.e., "an attitude of appreciation, concern, and responsibility toward peoples and environments"). He found that although 86 percent regarded the cultivation of this goal to be significant, only 69 percent actually implemented it in their instruction. He also found a great disparity between the regard the professors expressed for techniques such as reflective thinking, field study, and independent inquiry which would help students acquire a

"social conscience" and the actual utilization of these techniques in their classes.

Johnston (50) investigated the factors that are related to elementary school teachers' knowledge of races, cultures, and nations. He found that males had a broader range of knowledge than females and that scores were positively related to travel outside the United States and to the number of years spent in preparing to teach.

In studying the role and role conflicts of 229 social studies teachers in New York State, Godward (33) found that as professionals, teachers recognize the following role conflicts: they are expected to set better examples than parents are willing to set and they are expected to maintain the *status quo*. As private citizens, teachers find that claims are made on their free time because they are teachers, that they are expected to dress in a businesslike fashion, and that other citizens are inclined to check their behavior. Male teachers experience greater role conflict than female teachers.

Through questionnaires, Gordon and Shea (35) obtained a political profile of social studies teachers in secondary schools in rural New York. The profile indicated a positive correlation between the number of government courses taken in college and participation in and attitudes toward politics. Those having the greatest number of government courses in college had been active in campus politics, were active in community politics, were most willing to hold office, and were most willing to deal with controversial issues, to discuss the activities of pressure groups, and to use politicians as resource persons in their classrooms.

Lawrence (56) found the teachers' ability to accept themselves was positively related to their ability to accept children and the degree to which they held liberal social beliefs. On the other hand, Liu (57) found no clear-cut support for the hypothesis that a student teacher's authoritarianism, his philosophy of social education, and his instructional preferences were positively related to teaching behavior, at least as these were measured in her study.

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RESEARCH REVIEW EIGHT

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CHAPTER 17 Research on Teaching the Social Studies

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This chapter will review and critically analyze research on teaching the social studies. No attempt has been made to treat the literature exhaustively, partly because of the availability of recent summaries, considered in the first section of this chapter, and partly because of the sterility of much of that literature. Instead, the chapter has been focused on an approach to teaching the social studies, the reflective method, which serves as a point of vantage for examining the major issues. Empirical studies of reflective method and its cognates are considered at some length. Finally, the chapter turns to analytic history, with an extensive discussion of the problem of teaching historical explanation, and to recent formulations of concept analysis.

RECENT SUMMARIES

Within the past few years three summaries of research on teaching the social studies have appeared. Only one of these, an encyclopedia article by Gross and Badger (1960), purported to be a complete summary. An unpublished bibliography by McPhie (1959) listed doctoral dissertations for the past 25 years and annotated some of them. The pam-

phlet by McLendon (1960), one of a series entitled *What Research Says to the Teacher*, was not offered as a complete summary but, in the author's words, "attempted to draw from research material on the social studies the items which promise to be of most help to classroom teachers" (p. 2). All three authors reported great difficulty in ascertaining what the research has been. The social studies field is broadly and vaguely defined, and no systematic practice has been set up in collating studies in this field.

McLendon's Pamphlet

McLendon was at his best when he summarized the research on trends in objectives as follows:

Research has revealed several clear but not always favorable characteristics of objectives in social studies: (a) an excessive number of objectives stated; (b) marked uniformity among various localities, grades, and subjects; (c) frequently nebulous statements; (d) a time lag in reflecting social trends; (e) increasing emphasis on social (as distinguished from individual) values; (f) apparent lack of rating according to importance; and (g) little evi-

dence of application of research that has attempted to formulate more specific statements of objectives (for example, by answering the question, "What is a good citizen?" through detailed analysis of adult activities) (McLendon, 1960, pp. 7-8).

He did not specify the research that has revealed these characteristics of objectives, and the reader, therefore, is in no position to verify his claims by turning to the original studies. He also omitted from his list the tendency of teachers to list inconsistent objectives. His recommendation that one answer the question, What is a good citizen? through detailed analysis of adult activities suggests the question of where objectives originate. Such analysis could surely reveal to some extent what adult citizens *do* but fails to consider what adult citizens *should do*.

McLendon's assertion about the excessive number of nebulously stated objectives in the social studies is well taken. Earlier, Horn (1937) had described studies which revealed that American history teachers claimed to pursue 1,400 different objectives; one junior high school course of study began with 47 mimeographed pages of objectives. After considering such studies, Horn suggested for the social studies a single objective cast as a biblical injunction: "*Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things*" (Horn, 1937, p. 4).

As a further example of the proliferation of objectives, we may consider Wesley as quoted by Griffin (1942). To a list suggested by Charles Beard which included nine skills, seven habits, eleven attitudes, eight qualities, and a separate category called "Information," Wesley (1942) added 17 objectives of his own for history, and another 36 to be shared with economics, geography, civics, and sociology. His objectives included such familiar expressions as "to develop an appreciation of our social heritage," "to acquire

a perspective for understanding contemporary issues," "to develop a love of historical reading," and "to promote international understanding." He then, said Griffin, "warns teachers against the danger of trying to 'analyze every step in order to state the specific purpose for taking it,' because to do so might lead to 'the obscuring of the larger and more fundamental objectives' ..." (Griffin, 1942, p. 20).

Wesley did not state the larger and more fundamental objectives, unless his own list is to be so taken. In any case, Griffin correctly described the social studies as moving toward the statement of larger, more numerous, and more glittering objectives. Indeed, the social studies have tended to appropriate all the objectives of general education. Almost none of the stated objectives could be taken as peculiar to the social studies. At the level of objectives, general education can hardly be distinguished from the social studies. In mathematics and science, it has become customary to list objectives that more or less state the potential uses of an intellectual discipline. Workers in the social studies, however, have tried to define the good life, and then have assumed that they are its sole guardian. Equal time and thought have not been given to how one may achieve so many worthy objectives. Consequently, the actual program has always been inferior to the stated objectives. With purposes much better than their means, social studies educators, therefore, need research to develop means adequate to their purposes.

An example of high purpose and mean program is the situation in the teaching of critical thinking. Critical thinking is a frequently stated objective in social studies, yet teachers are seldom satisfied with results in this area. The social studies are not alone in emphasizing critical thinking as a process to be taught. But the teaching of this process in the social studies is hindered by barriers not usually present in mathematics or science. Research in social studies might indicate what the barriers are and how a classroom

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teacher of social studies might overcome them. McLendon (1960) devoted two full pages to critical thinking without, however, suggesting what it is, or how it might be taught, or even, indeed, whether it can be taught. His treatment leaves one with the unhappy impression that social studies research may have nothing to say on a matter as crucial as the teaching of critical thinking.

McPhie's List of Dissertations

McPhie's list (1959) purported to include all doctoral dissertations in social studies education for the preceding 25 years, and it is doubtful that he overlooked a single major study. This writer found listed and annotated everything of significance that has ever come to his attention, and much that had not. The quality of the annotation varies with the dissertation, and McPhie did not indicate whether he or the original author was responsible for each annotation.

McPhie's list indicated indirectly the research interests and methods of professors of social studies education, and therein is one of its major values. Graduate students are not always capable of identifying the problems of their specialty, and even when they are, it is usually sensible for them to explore problems in which their advisers are interested and capable of advising.

The list reflects no sustained concern with building and clarifying theory for teaching the social studies. The empirical studies have also not been the kind likely to contribute to theoretical knowledge. Dissertations have resulted in teaching manuals, course outlines, trend identification, status studies which are soon out of date, surveys of local peculiarities, controlled experiments of dubious design, historical studies, and textbook analysis. Many studies are local and dated in nature, and no attempt has been made to relate them to the larger, abiding questions in teaching the social studies.

Analyses of textbooks to identify biases have been abundant. McPhie listed 46 dis-

sertations, written in the period 1936-1956, which studied textual materials. The concern with bias is revealed in such titles as "A Study of Bias in the Treatment of Nullification and Secession in the Secondary School History Textbooks of the United States"; "The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks"; and "The Treatment of the Immigrant in American History School Textbooks."

Almost every possible kind of bias that might appear in social studies instructional material has been studied. The value of such studies has not, however, been exactly specified or closely questioned. Some of the studies belong properly to the history of education rather than to the theory or practice of social studies education. A typical study is one in which the author examined 87 high school American history textbooks used between 1895 and 1950 to see whether the treatment of Japan and people of Japanese descent had moved toward a world point of view, such as that expressed in certain UNESCO materials.

It is difficult to see how a knowledge of bias in materials contributes to a theory of teaching social studies. Even if it were known how teachers use such material, it would still be necessary to develop a theory of method which would suggest how a teacher could use material for learning purposes regardless of the biases or purposes of those who produce materials of instruction. It makes no difference to the building of such a theory whether materials originate with responsible publishers, skillful propagandists, well-meaning administrators, conservative boards of education, or misinformed scholars. Neither does it make any difference to such theory-building whether the dominant biases are pro or con an international point of view, because a sound theory will indicate how any bias may be handled by teachers who favor conceptual or any other kind of learning.

McPhie's valuable list of dissertations would have been even more useful if it had included an introduction clarifying how the list was compiled and how the annotations

were made. Only then could a reader judge the completeness of the list and the authenticity of the annotations. The National Council for the Social Studies, through its research committee, should systematize the annual compilation of such a list and the writing of critical evaluations of current doctoral studies in social studies education.

Gross and Badger's Encyclopedia Article

Gross and Badger (1960), in their encyclopedia article, mentioned 274 studies in the social studies. They did not mention a dissertation by Griffin (1942), listed without annotation by McPhie, which in this writer's judgment ranks among the most significant studies of the past 20 years. Gross and Badger's bibliography is nonetheless the most complete this writer has seen. Since these writers mentioned most of these many studies, they were unable to deal at length with any of them. Gross and Badger treated a broad range of topics, as is perhaps appropriate for an encyclopedia article. This writer would have preferred an attempt to organize the studies around different theories to show the extent to which each theory had been examined in the research, and to reach some conclusion as to the status of various theories. Instead, they covered such headings as the curriculum, objectives, problems of instruction, evaluation, and the social studies teacher. The history of the social studies, the curriculum, the courses offered, enrollment in each, and course trends are especially well treated.

Interpretations of results or critiques of research designs, especially negative evaluations, are largely absent. Their comment on Devitt's study (1957) follows:

Devitt . . . attempted to help delimit the content of the course [American history] by gathering a comprehensive list of basic concepts to be taught; he submitted 938 concepts to three separate juries on a national level to validate the generalizations. Such a list organized in order of importance can be an aid to those attempting to build better courses (Gross & Badger, 1960, p. 1302).

But Devitt's study listed facts more often than concepts. The list consisted of statements, most of which were of the order: "Columbus discovered America in 1492." It is questionable whether Devitt sorted out the basic concepts to be taught in American history or even whether he distinguished concepts from facts. Concepts are usually defined as categories, or laws, as in Bruner, et al. (1956), but seldom as facts, or singular statements, even though facts are necessary to teaching certain kinds of concepts, i.e., those that have some empirical grounding.

Gross and Badger did criticize some findings, but not the studies, i.e., the purposes, conceptual framework, or design of the studies. For example, they had this to say about one study:

Anderson and Phelps' survey of discussion techniques used by 110 social-studies teachers in 15 high schools showed that, although all teachers used some discussion, they varied greatly in the types of discussion situations provided and thus in the number of students involved. . . . The distressing finding here was that in 55 percent of the classes students had no preparatory instructions or had little help from the teachers in planning for their panels or reports (Gross & Badger, 1960, p. 1306).

Gross and Badger's competent history of the social studies and comparisons of such figures as the percentage of high school students taking economics today with the percentage 30 years ago nonetheless lacked a curriculum theory for interpreting the figures. They did take to task those who label the social studies "social slush," without making it clear whether they oppose those who would substitute courses in history, political science, geography, economics, and sociology for various fused or correlated offerings. They also omitted any comment on a perhaps more significant issue—whether there is too much history and not enough behavioral science in the social studies curriculum.

Gross and Badger, like McLendon, treated technique without reference to a guiding theoretical framework. Gross has indicated

in some of his other writings a leaning toward problem-solving as a method, but although the encyclopedia article treats it and controversial issues in consecutive sections, that discussion does not hint that one is intrinsically a part of the other. Their concept of problem-solving does not give a higher priority to the "hot" issues than to personal problems. In economics, for example, they might give attention to problems of personal finance before they would concern themselves with analysis of unemployment, economic growth, fiscal policy, and other so-called adult problems.

The three summaries suggest that research on teaching the social studies has not been guided by a framework or theory that would make possible a distinction between basic and trivial investigations. It is desirable to avoid a dogmatic or closed system, but it does not follow that objectivity means neutrality, or that one can prove his neutrality by taking an antitheoretical position, or that one should conduct empirical studies which have no relationship to the clarification of theories.

If there has been any bias in the research, it has been a faint-hearted and confused preference for problem-solving as a method of teaching. Some investigators have looked upon problem-solving as adequate for certain purposes, while favoring other methods for other purposes, without apparent need to have consistent purposes. A common point of view was expressed by Gross and Badger: "A teacher may state six aims of equal importance and find that socialized discussion is better in reaching three of them, while question-and-answer recitation brings better attainment of the other three" (1960, p. 1305). Yet, of course, the six aims of this teacher may lack internal consistency and hence may to some extent be self-defeating.

The same theme appears in the frequently expressed preference for a variety of teaching methods. Gross and Badger commented that "the teacher should not use one or two methods to the exclusion of all others; a variety of techniques, each of which fits certain special

purposes or situations, probably will yield the highest returns in learning" (pp. 1305-1306). Here again technique is not related to any particular theory of method.

REFLECTIVE THEORY OF METHOD

In contrast to a position that seems to favor variety of technique for its own sake within a general preference for problem-solving is the solid theoretical work on method by Dewey (1910, 1933), Bayles (1950), and Hullfish and Smith (1961). These writers treat reflective thinking as a method by which to foster conceptualization in learning skills, attitudes, habits, information, and understandings at all grade levels and in all subjects. Those who hold this concept of method have been accused of stretching their concept beyond recognition in a futile attempt to encompass all educational purposes, and of confusing epistemological method with pedagogical. In the latter instance, it is argued that although reflective thought is adequate for discovering new knowledge, it is inappropriate for teaching that which is already known and systematized. These quite fundamental criticisms have not been put to any experimental test by any social studies research known to the writer.

Since Dewey's influence on social studies has been pervasive, research should have been expected to emphasize the testing, clarification, and refinement of his theory. Yet only a few studies have attempted to do so, and the rest cast no light on his, or any other, theory of how a teacher might expect to perform his chief intellectual function, the direction of a process by which to assist students in concept attainment. Because the summaries by McLendon (1960), McPhie (1959), and Gross and Badger (1960) have not had this focus, this chapter will attempt to sum up our present position in relation to the practice and theory of conceptual teaching. This attention to conceptual teaching follows from an assumption that intellectual development of the young is the chief function of all

education, including social studies education, and that intellectual development consists in the formation and attainment of concepts.

First, we shall outline the reflective theory of teaching the social studies; then we shall consider the few empirical studies which purport to test and clarify this theory. The general theory was stated by Dewey (1933). Although the fact has not been generally recognized, Griffin (1942) stands almost alone in his attempt to elaborate in practical and theoretical terms what reflective theory means for teaching history and for the subject-matter preparation of high school history teachers. He has developed his theoretical position more completely and precisely than has any other student of method. Studies of the adequacy of problem-solving methods must take his position into account.

It is significant that Griffin never used the term *problem-solving* in his discussion of method. He probably wished to divorce himself from a term that has often been interpreted in ways that stifle opportunities for reflection in a classroom. It is also significant that his view of reflection was not limited to questions of method but also included the selection and organization of content and the curriculum of teacher education. His main contribution has been to pedagogical method, however, and it would be proper to view his theory as a psychological-logical model for teaching conceptual learning. His dissertation, rich in concrete illustrations of this model at work in history classrooms, ranks as a major intellectual achievement in social studies education within the past two decades, with a quality of writing and thought seldom found in a dissertation.

The following propositions and definitions, stated or implied by Griffin, are presented here in summary form to set forth in broad outline his proposals for achieving conceptual learning in the social studies:

1. Reflective thought is the active, careful, and persistent examination of any belief, or purported form of knowledge, in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions toward which it tends.

2. Although reflective thought is widely regarded as a method of ascertaining truth—even authoritarian societies make this admission—the survival of democracy in present times depends upon our recognition of reflection as *the* method of determining truth.

3. Societies are democratic in the degree to which they refrain from setting limits upon matters that may be thought about. It is a corollary that such societies place their faith in knowledge and actively promote occasions for doubt on the ground that doubt is the beginning of all knowledge.

4. Authoritarian societies achieve social cohesion by (1) instilling preferred values and beliefs, (2) holding such values and beliefs above or beyond question, and (3) carefully keeping out of people's experience any knowledge which might cast doubt upon the soundness of any preferred belief. Suppression of occasions for doubt becomes a necessary means to a stable, orderly, social unity possessed of purpose and continuity. Doubt can be fully eliminated only if all children learn the same beliefs and if their beliefs are consistent with the central values of the state. It follows, therefore, that the specific content of a child's early beliefs is crucially important to the maintenance of an authoritarian society.

5. Democracies also need order, stability, unity, purpose, and continuity. For them the solution cannot take the form of instilling specific beliefs in all children. Democracies cannot justify the suppression of knowledge, and if they consider doubt to be the beginning of all knowledge, they must positively encourage occasions for doubt. A reliance upon knowledge rather than hallowed belief means that reflection, as the only means of ascertaining belief, becomes the central, all-embracing value.

6. All culture patterns, democratic or authoritarian, have central and directing values. Democracy is not so much concerned with the specific character of the directing values as with the way in which central values are maintained and modified.

7. The earliest beliefs of children are not and cannot be acquired reflectively, although some writers have urged that they can be. Early beliefs are taken on uncritically and are often the consequence of conditioning or animal preference. The uncritical acquisition of early beliefs takes place in all societies, democratic or authoritarian, and a child need be no more ashamed of those beliefs than he is of his ancestry. Both are beyond his capacity to choose.

8. The development of children into adults who can steadily modify their beliefs in terms of their adequacy for explaining a widening range of experience requires two things: (1) improving and refining the reflective capacities of children, and (2) breaking through the hard shell of tradition which encases many deeply rooted and emotionally charged beliefs.

9. Many areas of belief in American culture are not subject to reflective examination. Our beliefs about race and sex are more open to study than they once were. Religion and economics remain particularly difficult to examine, even though conflicting traditions exist in both of these areas.

10. Two conceptions of learning are resident in the culture of teachers. It makes a difference in the development of human intelligence whether children *learn to say* that something is true, or whether they *learn that* something is true. A parrot could learn to say that Columbus discovered America in 1492, but only a human being could learn that such was the case. The latter is what is meant by conceptual learning.

11. Content may be viewed in two ways. These two ways, if analyzed, clarify what is sometimes meant by functional information. One kind of content, the pattern-of-action kind, is functional if we know what we want to do, or are set to act in a certain way. For example, the person who wants to vote would regard a knowledge of how to mark a ballot as functional. Unfortunately, this is the only concept of functional content known to some teachers. Such teachers, before teaching any information, want to know whether children

are ready to make use of it. It is difficult, if not impossible, to justify the teaching of history if one's criterion is functional education of the pattern-of-action kind.

Another kind of content is the kind that may function as data in the testing of beliefs. This kind is just as functional as the pattern-of-action kind, and acceptance of it opens the way to teaching history.

12. Information can be the result of reflection as well as data for reflection. When an individual is in a situation that is unclear, either because no appropriate way of acting is readily suggested by the situation, or because mutually exclusive responses are implied, then he has a chance, and some reason, to reflect. Reflection takes the form of trying to figure out what is blocking action, to hypothesize some ways out of the difficulty, to elaborate in imagination the probable consequences of each, and to accept that hypothesis which is seen as solving the problem. Once this clearly accepted hypothesis has been learned, it can even be viewed as a habit that will govern behavior when future situations are seen to be of the same kind as the one that gave rise to the hypothesis. This learning of a new belief and a new habit includes learning those facts relevant to testing the hypotheses which the learner formulated for solution of the problem.

13. The beliefs used to rationalize a particular attitude constitute a cognitive basis that supplements whatever emotional basis there may be. Reflective examination of these rationalizing beliefs may or may not result in attitudinal change. It follows that reflection cannot guarantee that attitudes will change in a particular direction. The attempt to promote specific changes in attitude would, of course, be undemocratic since it would require a rejection of reflective thought as the sole basis for conceptual learning.

14. A generalized change in attitudes, however, may occur. Students taught by the reflective method would become more conscious of their attitudes, what they mean, and their interrelationships in a field of consequences.

Griffin's theory of teaching, addressed to the service of a large social purpose, has as its central concern the analysis of student beliefs. It assumes that historical data can function as evidence for testing such beliefs, though not necessarily the historical data found in standard schoolbooks, if indeed these books include any data at all. His proposal no doubt calls for sweeping revisions in course content. The specific nature of the revisions is not treated in his study, except by implication. The many studies of textbooks reported by McPhie (1959) do not bear upon this problem. Griffin does indicate that the beliefs of young people can be reliably inferred from studies of American culture, and there have been many of these studies. A significant implementation of Griffin's theory would entail the development of new teaching materials containing facts relevant to the testing of commonly held American beliefs. The development of such materials would render more explicit a practical side of his theory, a step toward its eventual testing.

It should be said in passing that the absence of such instructional materials from present-day schools does not constitute a basis for rejecting Griffin's theory. Rather, any such lack in the schools becomes a deficiency in practice—if the theory is sound—and means that the schools rather than the theory are impractical. Likewise, the idea that Griffin's proposal is impractical because the absence of academic freedom in public schools makes it unlikely that teachers will risk their jobs by exposing student prejudice, and, by implication, community prejudice, is not relevant to the soundness of his theory. If history teaches anything, it teaches that many theories, sound and unsound, have been unacceptable to powerful undemocratic forces in American culture.

Griffin was well aware of the opposition to permitting students in public schools to reflect upon basic beliefs. Hence, he urged teachers not to act in terms of his theory without a full realization of the risks involved. He would also have the teacher consider fully the risks of not acting in terms of a reflective

theory of teaching. It is one of the dilemmas imposed by his theory that the kind of content most likely to stimulate reflection in students is also the content likely to arouse the opposition of authoritarian groups. Such groups are more desirous of instilling particular beliefs than of teaching students how to modify any belief intelligently. There have been no recent studies of intellectual freedom in our public schools comparable to the study by Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1958) of how college teaching of social science was influenced by the pressures of McCarthyism.

At no time in recent years has anyone been sure in his judgment of the status of intellectual freedom in the public schools. The last study to investigate this question was made by Beale (1936). In place of studies, there have been expressions of opinion ranging from one extreme to another. One extreme says that there is no academic freedom in the public schools. Another extreme is represented by the statement that "teachers who understand how to teach democratically [reflectively] and do so in a competent way are likely to have less trouble with a community than other teachers and will probably be able to stay in their jobs as long as they wish to do so" (Bayles, 1956, p. 32).

Because Griffin's theory is concerned with concepts and how they are taught and learned, it confronts one with a basic rather than a trivial proposal. Experiments which would establish the truth or falsity of his theory would provide teachers with answers to those difficulties that lie at the heart of any program in citizenship education that has intellectual development as its chief concern. Bruner and his co-workers (1956) correctly pointed to concept formation and attainment as the basis for all thinking and cognition. It makes no difference whether the teacher is teaching an understanding, appreciation, skill, attitude, explanation, description, interpretation, definition, or valuation—all of which have been identified by Smith (1960) as daily operations of many teachers. Whatever his objective, the teacher's task is largely conceptual in nature. His endeavors will

meet with success only if they are rooted in sound theory. Yet most research in the social studies has been irrelevant to testing Griffin's or any other theory of conceptual teaching. It is therefore not surprising that there have been no studies of academic freedom or other institutional prerequisites to the practice of reflective teaching. If there had been widespread interest in testing, clarifying, and refining a theory of teaching, the practice of which required a social-educational climate favorable to reflection, it is likely that attempts would have been made to measure the extent to which such an atmosphere prevailed in the public school system.

The Uncertain Status of Methods

A few attempts have been made to test a reflective theory of teaching. Feeble and awkward though some attempts have been, the literature of social studies abounds with references to their significance. Studies by Bayles treat reflection as an important variable, but most studies concentrate on the manipulation of less basic factors. Searles (1952) reported that college courses in methods of teaching social studies stress group discussion, group reports, use of current materials, individual reports, and unit approaches over other methods. This list suggests that college teachers of method are confused in their conception of method. It is difficult to understand, for instance, how one could label as method such very different entities as discussion, use of current materials, and unit approaches. Only discussion seems to qualify as a method, and then only if one locates it within a theoretical framework.

The conception of method reported by Jewett (1958) is evidently rare. In his methods class, Jewett confronts students with three questions: (1) What is reflection? (2) What is the role of social science data within a reflective process? and (3) By what techniques can a teacher hope to induce the use of reflection by students of social studies? If we compare Jewett's conception of method with that held by most college teachers in Searles'

study, we discover that they are not talking about the same problem. Most teachers would list discussion, lecture, and recitation as methods, while Jewett would be more likely to list reflection as a characteristic element to be found in any classroom technique that fosters conceptual learning.

Hunt and Metcalf (1955, pp. 53-59) referred to intuition, revelation, reason, and other nonreflective approaches to truth. It is difficult to see how a teacher could use revelation as a method of testing any proposition, and therefore using it as a method of teaching, although he can teach content that is said to be revealed. If it is *assumed*, however, that reflection is the only way by which anyone knows anything, then such approaches as revelation, reason, and intuition, although treated by the culture as approaches to truth, cannot be accepted as methods by which to attain knowledge. This interpretation would be consistent with Griffin's view that a technique such as discussion is no more effective than the amount and quality of the reflection it induces.

A reflective theory of method is never put to test by experiments that compare lecture, let us say, with discussion, unless the experiment takes under control the extent to which one of the techniques used is more reflective than the other. Since this control of reflection as a variable has almost never been present in experiments with technique, the conflicting results obtained through use of any technique, whether it be discussion or some other, are easily explained. Adams (1954) concluded from his survey that it is impossible to state which technique is most effective. A similar conclusion was reached by Jacob (1957, pp. 88-99) in his study of techniques of college teaching. This conclusion should be expected, according to Griffin's theory of method. A class taught by lectures that induce and improve reflection should produce better results than one taught by unreflective discussion. Similarly, reflective discussion should be more effective than conventional lectures. Reflection, its amount and quality, is the one variable that has seldom

been controlled, because few investigators have recognized reflection as a significant variable. Even if they did so recognize it, investigators might not know how to control it. Hence, conflicting conclusions are bound to appear. Teachers, whether they know it or not, vary in their understanding and valuing of reflection. Teachers with the best understanding of reflection do not necessarily prefer discussion to any other technique of teaching.

Because research on the outcomes of any given technique has yielded conflicting results, many educators consider the teacher and his personality to be more important than his technique. It is assumed that different teachers using the same technique get different results because some personalities are more compatible with the given technique. The position that a teacher should use a technique that fits his personality is fairly popular even though research on the interactions between personality and teaching techniques is fairly rare.

A related assertion is the notion that teachers should use a variety of techniques. McLendon expresses the common view that "in general, research confirms the judgment of most authorities that no single method is best for all teachers, classes, and subject matter. Each classroom teacher needs to utilize a variety of techniques in order to develop the varying abilities, interests, and backgrounds of his students" (McLendon, 1960, p. 16). He does not cite his "authorities" or their research, and he neglects to develop in even a summary fashion a theory of teaching method within which variety of technique would be an essential ingredient. Although Griffin argued that students might easily tire of the same technique, if used day after day, and that therefore some variety is tactically appropriate, the larger strategical question is whether the techniques used contribute to students' conceptual learning by promoting some phase of the reflective process.

Statements that assign more importance to teacher personality and variety of technique

than to any other factors will probably be made until research on technique brings under control variables as basic as the amount and quality of reflection taking place in classrooms. A resort to teacher personality as an explanation of learning is a tempting conclusion when not much is known about the relationship between how a teacher teaches and the learning that results.

The Bayles Studies

Bayles (1950) has indicated in his theoretical writings a grasp of reflective method. He reported (1956) on six studies (Avery, 1941; Droll, 1940; Johnston, 1941; Reader, 1953; Sailer, 1942; Trefz, 1941) completed during the period 1940-1953 which were intended to test the effects of reflection. Of these six studies, all master's theses written under his direction, three dealt with American history, one with American government, one with fifth grade, and one with sixth grade. Bayles has never claimed that the teachers in these studies were fully reflective in their approach. In fact, all but two of the studies were made by teachers who were trying out this method for the first time. According to Bayles (1956, p. 1), Trefz (1941) and Reader (1953), two teachers who were not entirely unfamiliar with reflective method by the time their studies were completed, both felt that "a teacher can gain competence in such teaching as she or he gains experience in it" and that "the change-over is gradual rather than abrupt."

In the six studies, both formal and informal data were collected. The formal data resulted from use of standardized achievement tests. The informal data were supplied by teachers who offered testimony on their own teaching. Since the teachers were recent converts to reflective method, one should read their testimony with considerable reservation. Writers of master's theses of this kind may sometimes want an experiment "to come out right" and this frequently means that a hypothesis is rationalized rather than tested.

The experimental groups were compared

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with much larger groups used in building norms for the standardized tests. In commenting upon the absence of control groups, Bayles said:

It may be well at this point to anticipate a criticism which is likely to be raised with reference to this and the following studies. It may be objected that no control groups were used which would furnish a basis for comparison and thereby for judging experimental results. It is our considered opinion that such a criticism is ill-founded and will not stand careful scrutiny

The major control in each of these investigations was the group which furnished the standardizing base for each of the tests used. If the standardizing base was reported as representative of the nation as a whole, it was assumed that normal expectation for a normal class conventionally taught would be the standard norm for the test; sometimes the median, and sometimes the percentile ranks. Class median scores on intelligence examinations were compared with national medians for the grade levels in question, such as eleventh or twelfth, in order to reach a conclusion as to whether a given class was approximately above, equal to, or below the standard group. Thus, a group with IQ's approximately equal to those of the standardizing group would normally be expected to make scores approximately equal to standard on the achievement tests, and variations above or below would be interpreted accordingly (Bayles, 1956, pp. 6-7).

Bayles defended this design as against one in which the same teacher would teach both control and experimental groups. He felt that any teacher is likely to prefer one method to another, and that this preference could influence results in favor of the preferred method. He also opposed the use of a control group taught by a teacher other than the one who taught the experimental group on the ground that differences in teachers' capacities could contaminate results. He preferred to compare his experimental teachers with a larger group of teachers that he was willing to assume, used conventional teaching methods.

The teachers who made these studies did

not use the more advanced statistical procedures and concepts which we would now expect of such research. According to Bayles, these advanced techniques were not available at the time that all but one of the investigations were made. Bayles did not regard this deficiency as a serious criticism of the experimental design because the obtained differences were so large as to make refined measures unnecessary, or as he put it: "A butcher does not need an extremely accurate chemical balance to weigh out a pound of beef steak" (p. 7). In all the studies reported by Bayles, the students in experimentally taught classes scored higher on achievement tests than the students around the nation who were presumably taught less reflectively. Most of the items of the tests required mere recall of facts and therefore did not test the adequacy of a reflective approach for teaching concepts. Some of the tests, however, required more conceptual responses than did others, and Bayles considered it significant that the reflectively taught classes always scored higher on the average than the students in the "normal" group.

Two additional conclusions were drawn by Bayles. Superior achievement was found in conventional curriculums and courses, demonstrating to his satisfaction that a reflective approach is adaptable to standard curriculums. Second, it was concluded that teachers grew considerably in their mastery of a reflective approach over a period of years. As teachers acquired this method, it apparently produced increasingly strong effects on learning.

Such a "multiplier effect" was exemplified most dramatically in the Trefz study (1941), in which the teacher, described by Bayles as mature and experienced, found that her students' scores on a standardized achievement test improved steadily over a six-year period. That is, although the master's thesis covered only a seven-month period, Bayles continued to receive follow-up reports, covering a six-year period, on group intelligence and achievement test scores collected by this teacher.

One interesting aspect of the study is that Trefz conducted her seven-month experiment with a group whom she had taught in a conventionally factual manner during its enrollment in the fifth grade. When this class completed the fifth grade, it was somewhat below the achievement norm for beginning sixth grade. During the summer Trefz studied Bode, Dewey, Wheeler, and Kilpatrick, and then decided to make her first effort at reflective teaching. The gains in achievement by her pupils exceeded normal expectations.

During her second year of experience with reflective teaching, Trefz had a group of 30 pupils with a median IQ of 105 and a range from 63 to 127. In October, median achievement was exactly at grade level, namely 6.1. In April, seven months later, median achievement was 12 months higher, i.e., five months above the then expected grade level. The largest gain for any pupil was 15 months.

Trefz continued to take measurements of achievement and intelligence in her classes for the next four years. Each year she used one form of a test battery in the fall, and another form in the spring, six or seven calendar months later. Sometimes she used the Stanford Achievement Test, and sometimes the Metropolitan Achievement Test. Each year she sent reports to Bayles. In her third year, 1941-1942, the tests were given six months apart. The median grade placement in October was 5.8, three months below the grade standard, 6.1. In March the median achievement was 7.8, or 11 months above the standard grade placement, 6.7. Bayles's comment on this third year was:

Thus we note that, in her third year of reflective teaching, this teacher—a mature and experienced teacher at the outset—made a large gain over her second year, an average gain of three times normal expectation or eighteen months' improvement in six (Bayles, 1956, p. 22).

For the fourth and fifth years, Trefz continued to report results far beyond normal expectations. In the sixth year, she made her

final report to Bayles. Tests were again administered six months apart. The reported average gains were as follows: Although the class began the school year two months below standard grade placement, at the end of six months the median grade placement was 11 months above standard.

Because these test results were obtained from standardized tests which measured recall rather than reflective understanding, there is some doubt that the study put Griffin's theory to a sufficiently relevant test. Trefz was aware of this problem, for she commented:

Because of the nature of the tests, being of the multiple choice type of objective tests, they required mostly recognition-level thinking (understanding) and not reflection-level thinking. As a result, we believe that the outcomes of some of our best work are not reflected in our test results at all (Trefz, 1941, pp. 61-63).

Bayles evidently encouraged Trefz and the others who made studies of reflective teaching to use standardized achievement tests in order to prove that students were not "hurt" by reflection. To show that students were helped, Bayles relied heavily upon the testimony of the six teachers who made studies. They reported that the students were more interested, made greater voluntary use of library facilities, showed a greater interest in current national affairs, and a greater tendency to question statements made by fellow students and teachers. Judgments of this kind have subjective aspects, but Bayles has expressed some confidence in the teachers' objectivity. His confidence would be more convincing to a neutral observer if these judgments had not been made by teachers who were recent converts to a new method of teaching. Bayles himself admitted that the teachers did not fully understand reflective teaching. This lack of understanding often meant that teachers were naïve or given to irrelevant observation, such as "Pupils and teachers found it very interesting," or "We found changed attitudes," or "Radio news of

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the day was sometimes discarded as propaganda," or "The children enjoyed the privilege of discussion." These reported consequences cannot be taken as evidence of the success of reflective teaching because it is quite possible that children in unreflective groups would make similar impressions on their teachers.

Before we dismiss entirely the strength of the test results in the Trefz and other studies, it should be freely granted that a response that is unreflective for one person may be quite reflective for another. It is conceivable that the students in Trefz's classes responded more reflectively than students in the norm-setting groups even though they made many of the same responses. This is consistent with Griffin's distinction between *learning to say that* and *learning that*. A response that is merely mechanical for those students who have been placed in a conventional learning environment may reflect profound insight when made by students in a more critical environment.

About all that can be concluded from the test scores is that reflective teaching enhanced conventional learning; that is, pupils learned to say what the teacher wanted them to say and they learned to say it in greater amounts. To establish that pupil responses are conceptual in quality, we need evidence more conclusive than teacher testimony. Since the Bayles studies, advances have been made in the study of conceptual teaching. Bruner and his co-workers (1956) studied the process of concept attainment in a person trying to locate the defining attributes of nonverbal concepts. Their work may yield methods of securing evidence on whether a student is attaining verbal concepts, although the application of Bruner's clinical findings to classroom experiences with verbal concepts will not be easy. Studies by Smith (1960) indicated that tape recordings of classroom teaching can provide evidence not only on teaching procedures but also on the conceptual processes of students. Bruner's model for concept attainment could conceivably be used as one basis for interpreting transcriptions

of classroom discussions. Bayles and his teachers cannot be criticized for failing to use resources not available in the 1940's, but it would be appropriate now to investigate reflective teaching in the light of recent advances in research method.

The Reflective Model in Teaching History

It is clear that Bayles and Griffin worked from much the same model. The following excerpts, one from Bayles, and the other from Griffin, indicate how similar is their approach to teaching history. Bayles described a cut-and-dried recitation in which the class moves along in a conventional fashion. The teacher pursues a line of questioning intended to create in students enough doubt to provoke investigation of what meaning can be given to the typical social studies response, "Columbus discovered America in 1492":

When was America discovered and by whom? The answer which is practically sure to come is that America was discovered by Columbus in 1492. The teacher rather thoughtfully gives assent and, without changing expression, responds, "Ye-e-e-es. And what did he find when he got here?" Numerous things will perhaps be enumerated, such as a sandy beach and trees. And then people will be mentioned. The teacher inquires about the people, asking what kind they were. The name Indians will probably come into the discussion and the teacher may ask at once how Columbus knew that they were Indians. However, that question can well come a little later. The immediate next question can then be, "Now, if Columbus found Indians here, why do you say that Columbus discovered America? Why not give the Indians credit for discovering America? If we should give the Indians credit for discovering America, when was America discovered anyway?" In this way information will be gathered regarding the prehistoric human migration probably from northeastern Asia, across the shallow water and mostly land connections to Alaska, thence downward across the Americas. This would put the discovery of America at perhaps 25,000 B.C.

It might then be asked how Columbus knew they were Indians, and the circumstances causing Columbus to give them that name would be forthcoming. This, of course, would bring out salient features of Columbus' efforts to get his expedition going. But it finally has to be concluded that we do not give the Indians credit for discovering America because they were not Europeans and therefore did not count.

This conclusion, however, causes the teacher with feigned innocence to ask why, if we are going to give credit to Europeans, we leave out Leif Ericson. Then comes the story of the Vikings and their actual settlement within what is now continental United States about 1000 A.D. Why not count Leif Ericson? Apparently because he was not a southern European. He was a *Nordic*. Since our ancestors came from further south, we have not seen fit to give credit to the Nordics. Obviously, at this point the present-day attitude regarding Nordic supremacy—not confined to Hitler alone—may come in for a bit of discussion.

After a time, however, the teacher says, "All right. We give Columbus credit because he was from southern Europe. But what did Columbus discover? Where did he land?" Here is where the facts of Columbus' actual discoveries can enter, why he called the islands the West Indies, etc. Columbus' whole story may well be introduced here, rather than earlier. And the point might be made that, although occasionally we refer to our land as Columbia, we do not normally use that name.

The teacher then asks, therefore, if Columbus did not discover America, who did? Now comes the intriguing story of Americus Vesputius and how, although he was merely a passenger on the ship, he has become immortalized in the name America; how it became known as America's Land, perhaps because his letter home was the first to announce the discovery of a great continent. Again, however, the teacher asks what continent Americus saw. It comes out that it was South rather than North America and that the time was 1498 rather than 1492.

In this way, the class is essentially forced to the interesting conclusion that the original and almost universally accepted answer to the question is correct except that it was Vesputius rather than Columbus, that it was South America rather than North, and it was 1498 rather than 1492.

The study can then take various turns. The one suggested by Roberts is why the discovery that actually took hold of the attention of Europe came in 1492 rather than 1000 A.D., 1200, 1300, or later than 1492. Thus, the conditions in Europe at those various periods come in for study, out of which arises an understanding of how the period of American discovery and colonization was brought about by European developments during the fifteenth century. History, business, and politics thereby become integrated in the minds of students (Bayles, 1950, pp. 223-225).

We can quarrel, as we should, with some of the historical interpretations in the above passage, but the tone is essentially reflective, and also it compares with Griffin's treatment of the election of 1800 in the following passage:

Let us suppose that a class is reading what the text-book has to say about the election of 1800. There will surely be something on the bitterness of the campaign, and on the horrible consequences predicted for the country if Jefferson, "a radical and an atheist," were elected.

A teacher may cut in here, in discussion, to raise the question, "Do you suppose these people—Dwight, for example—believed what they said? Or did they just make those things up for the election?" Groups will divide sharply on this question, some insisting that the sheer extravagance of the Federalist charges (the teacher may have to augment these, since texts often go easy at this point) reveals them as propaganda, while others insist that men like Adams and Hamilton would not deliberately be false to what they thought.

Now suppose that the teacher injects a new question: "If men really believe that this election of a given candidate will ruin the country, how far are they justified in going, out of sheer patriotism, to prevent his election?"

Some ideas will emerge here toward which the example of Hamilton's famous letter to Jay may be addressed. "Suppose, for the sake of argument, that Hamilton was perfectly sincere in believing that Jefferson's election would be disastrous. Now consider this: among the papers of John Jay (time out for 'Who remembers Jay? What did he do?' etc.) was a letter from Hamilton, written just before this election of 1800. It asks Jay, as Governor of

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New York, to juggle the election laws (time out for, 'Have you ever heard of that before? Tell about it. What's a gerrymander? What happened recently to Congressman Eliot of Massachusetts?' etc.) in such a way as to insure a Federalist victory no matter what the people wanted (time out for 'How could he do that?' discussion of electoral college, etc.). Now, then, what do you think of Hamilton's proposal? If he was trying to save his country from a horrible fate, wasn't he justified (time out for fairly heated forensics, largely ungrounded)?"

After a while, the teacher interjects, "Jay left a note on the envelope of that letter. It said, 'A proposal for party purposes which it would ill become me to consider.' How do you react to that?"

The point must be made clear that Jay agreed with Hamilton as to the character and extent of the disaster Jefferson's election would cause. It should also be made clear that the Federalists, being in power rather generally, could have followed Hamilton's suggestion with some success, and driven Jefferson's followers to submission or revolution as their only alternatives. Secondary school students probably cannot formulate the difference between Jay's outlook and Hamilton's, but they sense it readily and show some insight into its quality. They rarely condemn Hamilton out of hand, though; they seem to understand how loyalty to a set of fixed standards may compel that kind of behavior.

Other aspects of the same situation may be used in the same direction. Dwight was trying to save the country from the horrors of an atheist president. Has an atheist a right to run for president? Does the freedom of religion we are fighting for include the freedom to have no religion? Did Americans of the eighteenth century feel more friendly toward atheism than people do today? Why wouldn't Philadelphia permit a statue to Tom Paine? What kind of president did Jefferson turn out to be? What were the religious views of Benjamin Franklin? Of George Washington? (This last is perhaps too risky—if the youngsters find out, they'll probably bubble over in the wrong places. However, only the very diligent are likely to find out anything on this point until many years later).

Some reference in this connection to the practice in many states of barring certain political parties from the ballot may also be

related to the Hamilton-Jay business. The economic make-up of the Federalist party also has utility here, and a quick look back over Adams' administration, emphasizing the alien and sedition laws and Adams' immigration policy, will yield quantities of evidential material.

One may treat the election of 1800 in scholarly and thorough fashion without upsetting anyone and without doing more than skirt the edges of controversy. One may even promote a fair amount of thinking that way. But the intent to develop, through thinking, a frame of reference that *relies on* thinking, will make certain ideas and events seem almost to pop out of the pages of the text or out of our own remembered reading (Griffin, 1942, pp. 194-198).

The quotation from Bayles, which he took from Roberts (1941), indicates the extent to which the latter teacher started from the same verbal model as Griffin. It is apparent that not all the teachers who experimented under Bayles were as close to Griffin in their models, but probably they were more so than the run-of-the-mine teacher. In the absence of transcribed classroom discussion, nothing more can be said at this point in our consideration of these matters about the probability that these experimental teachers could translate their newly acquired theory into classroom teaching acts.

Attitude Education

It is not easy in the area of attitudes to provoke conceptual responses in pupils. We note that Griffin, in his discussion of attitudes and their relationship to beliefs, raised points which suggest how difficult, if not impossible, it would be to test his theory with conventional measuring devices. His theory classifies attitudes into three kinds—those held below the level of consciousness, those held consciously but involving only the emotions, and those consciously held attitudes that possess both cognitive and emotional content. The first two kinds are closed, autonomous systems with which publicly accessible evidence

cannot interact. The third kind consists not only of emotional postures but of the beliefs or propositions used in their rationalization. This kind of attitude *may or may not* shift as related beliefs undergo a reflective test. Griffin put it as follows:

If we assume that the propositional statement represents a genuine belief to which the student is fully committed and about which he *cares* deeply, it is safe to say that, as a result of its reconstruction, further significant change in the individual is likely to go forward. If, on the other hand, the statement of belief is given offhand and is regarded as trivial by the student who offers it, the outcome may well be of no consequence. A lot of superficial sparring, in which nobody cares much about any of the points allegedly at "issue," goes on in the name of promoting reflective thinking (Griffin, 1942, p. 153).

In other words, a group of students who discuss any issue may offer reasons for taking a certain position, some of which are genuine, but many of which are spurious. In a discussion of whether it is democratic to segregate Negroes, one can expect any group of students to be split in its position. Those who favor segregation can be expected to make certain statements about the attributes and potentialities of Negroes. Those who oppose segregation will offer different beliefs about Negroes as reasons for their position. The fact that group members will differ in their stereotyped opinions of Negroes is enough to provoke some doubt in reasonable youngsters, but the teacher in the kind of situation we have described could produce a greater basis for doubt by placing each youngster in disagreement with himself as well as in conflict with other youngsters. The use of what Hunt and Metcalf (1955, p. 16) have called the subject-matter switch is a promising technique for getting a maximum number of students to feel puzzled over what to believe.

Griffin maintained that if the expressed beliefs about Negroes are seriously held by students who offer them, then any change in

those beliefs might be accompanied by change in related attitudes. A belief structure constructed and offered as a rationalization for a purely emotional preference does not *remove* the irrational basis for the attitude, and therefore feelings are not automatically abolished by breaking down the beliefs used in their sanction. For this reason, it is not possible to predict or guarantee specific changes in attitude as a consequence of cognitive learning.

Although specific change cannot be expected, it is probable that generalized change in attitudes will take place as a consequence of reflective testing of the consciously held beliefs that function as the rational basis for certain attitudes. The character of this change cannot be measured by typical attitude scales. In fact, the kind of change to be expected is not easy to evaluate by any means. The magnitude and complexity of this problem was suggested by Griffin:

Reflection will not guarantee that one acquires "desirable" attitudes if we mean by desirable a set of values at which we want youngsters to arrive, or . . . a set of attitudes toward specific matters which we want them to adopt. Once thinking starts, nobody knows what will happen to values and to attitudes. . . . [But attitudes will be better in the sense that the individual will be] more conscious of the values he holds and of their relationships to one another in a widening range of experiences (Griffin, 1942, pp. 156-157).

He held a similar view respecting the very beliefs which function as rationalization for an attitude. He indicates this view when he distinguishes between authoritarianism and democracy in the manner indicated above on page 934.

Griffin would accept a belief as "right" or "correct" only if it represented knowledge. If data conflict with it, or if it is expressed in nonpropositional form, thus rendering it immune to evidential test, or if it amounted to an expression of emotional preference—all these he would not take as "correct" no matter how fundamental or central their status

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might be within the cultural traditions of a group. A shift in responses on an attitude scale, for example, from "conservative" to "liberal," would not be evidence with which to test the adequacy of his teaching theory. A growing consistency in attitudes is an expected consequence of reflective teaching. Since such consistency can also be achieved through brainwashing or indoctrination, however, it cannot be concluded from growth in consistency that reflection has taken place and that the consistency expressed is conceptual in quality.

The Stanford Social Education Study

Another empirical investigation of a reflective method of teaching social studies was the Stanford Social Education Study (Quillen & Hanna, 1948). Three approaches to teaching American history were compared, the chronological, topical, and problem-solving. The chronological approach, so common in the schools, is clear to everyone. The difference between problems and topics, however, is not so easy to discern.

Their list of topics (Quillen & Hanna, 1948, p. 120) includes the following:

1. What has been the influence of revolutions on social changes?
2. How did medieval man deal with social problems similar to those today?
3. What has determined the rise of nationalism?

They then list the following as *problems* (pp. 135-136):

1. What should be the role of the United States in international affairs?
2. How can we safeguard our civil liberties during war?
3. How can we prevent war in the future and establish a peace that will be just for all nations?
4. How can we more intelligently use our school environment?

The two lists do not make explicit the criteria by which to decide whether a question deals with a topic or a problem. In their dis-

cussion of criteria, Quillen and Hanna said:

Characteristics of the problems approach.—There are two essential characteristics of a problem: (1) it is an area of concern producing tensions which can be resolved only by solution of the problem, and (2) it involves the choice of a course of action from among two or more possible solutions. "What role should the United States play in international affairs?" becomes a real problem according to these criteria. This problem has not been solved; adolescents as well as adults are vitally concerned in seeing that the United States follows the right course of action, and they feel confused or blocked in not knowing which course is best (Quillen & Hanna, 1948, p. 124).

It is not clear whether Quillen and Hanna meant that a student can have a problem only if he has a question no one can answer. Their statement that a real problem "has not been solved" could be interpreted to mean that the teacher is as ignorant as the student, but one cannot be sure that this is the meaning they intended. Their meaning for the term *concern* is also unclear. When they say that both adolescents and adults are concerned whether the United States is following the right course of action, it is not clear whether "concerned" means "interested in" or "affected by."

But enough is clear in their discussion to make it certain that Griffin would define a problem differently than they would. Griffin would hold that many of the topics listed by Quillen and Hanna could become problems without any change in the wording of the questions. If a student is puzzled and concerned over the meaning and truth of a proposition, then, according to Griffin, he has a problem. The psychological elements of doubt and concern rather than the content of a question determine whether the question is viewed or felt as a problem. Quillen and Hanna, the chief architects of the Stanford Social Education Study, may have investigated a reflective theory of conceptual teaching, but it was not the theory developed by Griffin.

Griffin's difference from Quillen and Hanna is seen in a passage from Griffin's dissertation which indicates a reflective approach to content that Quillen and Hanna would insist, by their criteria, was topical:

By way of illustration, let us suppose a world history classroom in which students have encountered, during the reading of an assignment, the statement used in Chapter V to illustrate the extreme of apparently useless information: "Alexander crossed the Hellespont with 35,000 men and began the series of conquests that quickly made him master of Darius' empire."

In the actual course of events, this statement would be "believed" in the limited sense of "not doubted," but nobody would be likely to care much one way or the other about it, except on the off chance that an examination question might call for its regurgitation. Nevertheless, for what it is worth, the students have seen the words and are able after a fashion to visualize some sort of event not inconsistent with them, which is about all the "knowledge of events" anyone ever does get out of a high school text-book.

Suppose, however, that the teacher raises the question, "Could that sentence be a misprint? Surely it doesn't sound reasonable that 35,000 troops could conquer a land containing many millions of people."

That much is enough to get the flow of student hypotheses started. "Maybe there weren't so many people in those days." Investigation will bear this out, but not in sufficient degree to explain Alexander's conquests. "Maybe his army increased as he went along." Investigation supports this also—at least, a student can readily find out that Alexander trained some 30,000 of his conquered subjects in Macedonian military techniques,—but again the explanation is quantitatively inadequate. "Maybe the people had no weapons." But Macedonian weapons were not particularly complicated, as the student can easily discover. Vast numbers of people armed with only equipment for hunting, farm implements, clubs, and stones could make a fair showing against a small army. However, a new question could be introduced by the teacher, namely, "Why didn't Darius see to it that every household contained the simple weapons of his day?"

Sooner or later, someone will discover that the ordinary inhabitant of an Asiatic empire never took part in wars at all—that he apparently cared not at all who ruled over him. By the time a student has found out why, and has come to compare the passive hopelessness of the natives of Persia with the vigorous self-defense against Persia carried on by the Greek cities a century and a half earlier, and perhaps even to wonder what had enabled Alexander to conquer those same Greek cities, the comparison with the present scene will have become painfully obvious. The state of affairs in India, in Burma, in Egypt, in Malaya, will have become relevant to the idea under discussion, which is no longer Alexander but rather the proposition, "People who believe that they have no stake in their government will not fight to maintain it. . . ." (Griffin, 1942, pp. 179-181).

We have in this passage an example of how a class may reflect upon a past event in an attempt to explain its occurrence. The problem of how Alexander was able to conquer a vast territory with an army much smaller than its population, and to do this with very simple and primitive weapons, is a problem already solved by a good many people. Certainly, many research historians possess an answer, and no doubt the teacher in the example also had an answer. The fact that the problem had been solved somewhere by someone does not make it impossible for students to have the problem and to seek and find an answer reflectively.

That Quillen and Hanna did not hold this conception is indicated by the following comment:

It is obvious that problems which have already been solved or which have ceased to be troublesome do not produce a tension, and therefore are no longer problems. Thus, problems which are selected for class consideration should be contemporary, because a present-day problem usually presents a genuine issue in which adolescents have a real interest and vital concern (Quillen & Hanna, 1948, p. 125).

Quillen and Hanna seem to adhere to what has been disparaged as "contemporaneity."

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This concern makes it doubtful that problem-solving as they conceive it could ever be applied to the teaching of history. In fact, it is doubtful that "contemporaneity" could be applied to the teaching of any school subject. Certainly, their point of view clashes with the theory of teaching which Bruner has attributed to the new teaching of physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics in the various experimental curriculums he has described (1960). Bruner commented as follows on these programs and the teaching that characterizes them:

... intellectual activity anywhere is the same, whether at the frontier of knowledge or in a third-grade classroom. What a scientist does at his desk or in his laboratory, what a literary critic does in reading a poem, are of the same order as what anybody else does when he is engaged in like activities—if he is to achieve understanding. The difference is in degree, not in kind. The schoolboy learning physics *is* a physicist, and it is easier for him to learn physics behaving like a physicist than doing something else. The "something else" usually involves the task of mastering what came to be called at Woods Hole a "middle language"—classroom discussions and textbooks that talk about the conclusions in a field of intellectual inquiry rather than centering upon the inquiry itself. Approached in that way, high school physics often looks very little like physics, social studies are removed from the issues of life and society as usually discussed, and school mathematics too often has lost contact with what is at the heart of the subject, the idea of order (Bruner, 1960, p. 14).

The Quillen-Hanna conception of a problem makes the problems approach difficult to apply to teaching school subjects. Their conception becomes usable only at the frontier where knowledge is actually in doubt for everyone. The fact that each student has his own frontiers, and that these are not always the same as the frontiers of a discipline, is overlooked. Perhaps this is why Quillen and Hanna concluded that "all three approaches to social education... have unique advantages" (p. 139). They agree with the teachers

in the Stanford Study that "no one approach should be used to the exclusion of the other two" (p. 139).

Quillen and Hanna held that whether a teacher should use a problems approach depends somewhat upon his objectives and taste. It follows that a teacher who "likes" the chronological approach will be more effective with it than with any other approach, regardless of his objectives. Yet they felt that certain objectives such as skill in critical thinking, interest in current events, and sensitivity to a wide range of social problems can best be achieved through use of a problems approach. Quillen and Hanna suggested no solution for the teacher who "likes" chronology but "wants" his students to improve in their thinking processes. Whether Griffin's conception of a problem or that of Quillen and Hanna is "correct" is not the point at issue. They are different, and an experiment carried through under the leadership of one is not likely to put the other's theory to a test.

The Stanford Study concluded that the problems approach, although not clearly superior to the chronological approach, was better than the topical approach in fostering such outcomes as critical thinking, good study habits, work skills, knowledge and understanding of the subject, knowledge of contemporary affairs, and consistency of attitudes. The significance of this difference is not clear since the difference between a topic and problem was never adequately developed.

In a list of some 45 problems presented by Quillen and Hanna, all but one are like the following: What should the United States do about the international situation? How can we best secure our democracy within our country? How can we provide adequate leisure and recreation for all? All of these deal with policy questions, or put another way, all ask the question, What policy is desirable to attain a certain end? The single exception in the total list of 45 is the one that reads: "How, in earlier times, has our nation provided for defense against foreign enemies and

how can we now provide for national defense?" (Quillen & Hanna, 1948, p. 135).

It should be noted that this last question consists of two parts, and that one of these parts is like the other 44 questions. Therefore, all but one of the listed problems have in common an orientation to the future and deal with policies to be chosen to bring about a desirable state of affairs. Presumably, each would require normative analysis should there be any question over the desirability of the intended consequences of a policy. None of the problems on the Quillen-Hanna list deals directly with problems of definition or explanation. None is directly concerned with understanding past events. Presumably, the policy questions stated in their list could not be answered without recourse to definition of terms, verification of beliefs, clarification of values, and study of history; yet, all such exercises in logic are mentioned only by implication. The Quillen-Hanna conception of a problem is limited to a present-day uncertainty in choosing policy; moreover, their problem must be a policy question that is puzzling to everyone. Conceivably, a knowledgeable teacher, who knew or thought he knew the answer to many policy questions, would be handicapped in his use of a problems approach.

Quillen and Hanna also considered a problem-solving experience to be incomplete if it is not followed by some action, a view that Griffin did not share. They granted, as did Griffin, that an action need not be overt and direct, but their distinction between overt and other kinds of action is not always clear:

There are many complex problems of national and international scope about which older adolescents are deeply concerned but about which they can do little in the way of direct action. Such problems should not be eliminated for this reason. Action in these cases can take the form of utilizing opportunities to exert some influence with reference to the solution. It means that every student in a given group should be increasingly sensitive to the problem. He can discuss it with his age-mates and adult friends; he can help clarify

the thinking of people who have not studied it. The group can submit recommendations and memorandums to senators and representatives in Washington. There are thus many ways by which students can apply the conclusions which they have drawn, by which they "can do something about it" even when the problems they have been considering are national and international in scope (Quillen & Hanna, 1948, pp. 125-126).

They then summed up their position by saying:

Thus, all problems selected for study should lead to some form of action. When school and community problems are studied, the action may be overt and direct; but when the problem is a complex one of national or international scope, the action may take some other form. The drawing of a conclusion from a number of possible solutions plus the "doing something about it" after the solution is reached are features of the problems approach which distinguish it from both the topical and chronological approaches (Quillen & Hanna, 1948, p. 126).

One point that is clear in all the above is that "drawing a conclusion" is not enough for a problem-solving experience to be complete.

Griffin conceived action in much broader terms. "Action" as here used need not refer to any large or complex task in process; it may refer to as simple a matter as attempting to express oneself clearly in an informal conversation" (Griffin, 1942, pp. 171-172). He included reading and listening as forms of action. It is apparent that he would regard achievement of a sounder basis for a particular belief as sufficient purpose for problem-solving. Whatever action took place, whether it was listening, reading, speaking, writing, or lobbying, would be important only in further testing a belief. If action of any kind were followed by other than expected consequences, doubt would again be raised as to the meaning or truth of the beliefs upon which action had been based. Griffin's objective is better grounded belief, not with action of

some kind, no matter how broadly conceived. The intent of reflection, as he saw it, was revealed in his statement, "Anything that renders belief at all uncertain is a sufficient occasion for reflection" (Griffin, 1942, p. 172).

Gross, a leading interpreter of problem-solving and the Stanford Study, has not commented directly on the question of action, but in his discussion of levels of problem-solving (Gross, Zeleny, et al., 1958), he expressed a preference for the kind of problem which Quillen and Hanna believed can most easily result in solutions that include action of a direct or overt kind. In speaking of problems that are "personal, school, and community problems," Gross observed that

Motivation is much more easily attained where the students are so directly involved. "What are my potentialities for my chosen vocation?" "In what ways can we improve human relations in our school?" or "How can our school contribute more effectively to neighborhood well-being?"—these are examples of problems which are favorites with pupils in civics and problems classes. Some leaders in the problem-solving movement have claimed that this is the only kind of problem-solving that is really effective and deserving of the title (Gross, Zeleny, et al., 1958, pp. 362-363).

The underlying causes of the American Revolution, or the effect of materialism upon moral standards, were labeled by Gross as adult problems, or unsolvable issues. These problems are so intellectual that students may not feel deeply involved in them. They can have a real sense of involvement in such problems, but the teacher must strive mightily to see to it that students feel concerned about these "adult problems." If a teacher fails to do this, the students' problem-solving "can become merely another stereotyped series of lessons to 'get through'" (p. 362). But personal problems, the kind that can be followed by direct action, are intrinsically such that no serious problem in motivating pupils confronts the teacher.

This view of student interest clashes with the view held by subject-matter specialists who are leading current reforms in the cur-

riculums of science and mathematics. According to Bruner (1960), students are more interested in ideas of the most theoretical kind than many educators have assumed. The new curriculums in science and mathematics are based on the proposition that a study of ideas increases students' interest in school and results in greater retention and transfer of what is taught than is the case when science students work diligently on such practical problems as making soap or toothpaste.

It follows, from Bruner's view, that students who are bored with a study of school discipline, eating habits in the cafeteria, or how to get a job as an airline stewardess, will come to life quickly when social studies classes deal with ideas that are controversial in their community or are fundamental to an understanding of a social theory.

There is a sharp conflict, not often explicitly stated, between subject-matter specialists and certain interpreters of problem-solving. Gross and Quillen and Hanna glossed over the conflict in holding that problem-solving should be used as a method of teaching more commonly than it is, but not to the exclusion of other approaches. Gross, for example, after his discussion of three levels of problem-solving, attributed to Harold Rugg a conception of problem-solving which combines all three levels into a fourth level that incorporates the best features of the other three. Yet, Gross held, even this eclectic conception should not become the only, or even dominant, method of instruction in the schools, for many important objectives can best be achieved by other means. The conflict is one between the value placed on knowledge by the subject-matter specialist, including knowledge of the process of intellectual inquiry, and the unsound psychology practiced by certain advocates of problem-solving, including the assumption that pupils lack genuinely intellectual interests.

The Kight-Mickelson Study

The concern of some educators with personal problems and direct action may be con-

sidered to reflect this anti-intellectualism. Kight and Mickelson (1949), in a study of problem-solving significantly entitled "Problem vs. Subject," gave evidence that preference for action over knowledge does occur in the problem-solving movement. They investigated the differing effects of problem-solving and subject-centered instruction upon the learning of factual information, the learning of rules of action, the ratio of rules of action learned to factual information, and the connecting of specific facts with their corresponding rules of action (Kight & Mickelson, 1949, p. 4). In a most revealing comment upon their findings, they recommended that classroom presentation should make "doing rather than knowing primary in the presentation" (p. 7).

The fact that this comment is restricted to methods of teaching does not lessen its import for those who believe that methods of thinking constitute an important part of all content. The notion that doing is more important than knowing, like the belief that basic ideas are "caught rather than taught," may be traced to a certain misinterpretation of John Dewey, who is usually regarded by all advocates of the problem-solving method, regardless of their internal differences, as their leader. Yet, in a discussion of learning as insight, Bayles commented: "The statement, 'We learn to do by doing,' is usually credited to John Dewey, though doubtless erroneously. The writer has followed Dewey's writings rather carefully and has never yet discovered such a statement made by him" (Bayles, 1950, p. 81).

According to Bayles, this cliché about a relationship between learning and doing is a shorthand expression of Dewey's definition of experience in his *Democracy and Education*, and the shorthand has been taken literally by people who perhaps have not read the original statement. Dewey spoke of experience as having both an active and passive side. The individual does something (active), and then undergoes consequences (passive). If he sees a connection between what he did, and what he underwent—if, in short, he sees

consequences as consequences—he has had an experience. Obviously, the individual is not always aware of the consequences of his acts, and "In the degree to which the outcomes [of an act] are unknown [to him], the doing fails to constitute experience and fails to promote learning" (Bayles, 1950, p. 82). The individual learns by doing something, noting its consequences, and then by modifying his subsequent doing in the light of those consequences. It should be noted also that doing is defined in the broad terms that Griffin brings to his definition of action. Noting relationships between what is done and what flows back as consequence is possible or likely only as one reflects upon what he is doing. A more adequate slogan than "we learn to do by doing" would be that "we learn to do by reflecting upon what we are doing." Certainly, this appears to be Dewey's meaning, and those interpreters of problem-solving who prefer doing to knowing cannot in any accurate sense cite Dewey as their authority.

Kight and Mickelson studied 24 teachers and their 1,415 students in English composition, English literature, science, and social studies classes. These teachers taught, in rotation, problem- and subject-centered units. The design of their study differed radically from that used by Bayles's students in their six studies. Kight and Mickelson wanted to exclude from their results variations due to teacher competence, while Bayles wanted to exclude from his results any differences owing to a teacher's preference for one method over another. Bayles simply assumed that the experimental and nonexperimental teachers were equally favorable to whatever method they used, and equally competent.

Kight and Mickelson concluded that pupils learned more factual information in problem-centered units—a conclusion that Bayles also reached—but that the difference, for a number of the classes, was not great. They also concluded that problem-solving groups were markedly superior in helping students learn rules of action in all four subjects—science, literature, composition, and social studies.

The studies by Bayles, Quillen and Hanna,

and Kight and Mickelson fell short of testing the main propositions in Griffin's theory. Bayles relied too much upon standardized tests, but in doing so he proved that reflective method does not hurt a student's achievement of knowledge of facts. Quillen and Hanna defined a problem differently than did Griffin, to the degree that the latter's theory could not have been applied in their study except by accident. Quillen and Hanna, in their definition of a problem, emphasized that problems should deal with questions that have not yet been solved and should have an orientation to the future and to values; they placed much emphasis upon action rather than grounded belief as an outcome of reflection. Kight and Mickelson are theoretically quite close to Griffin in their conception of what outcomes to expect from reflection—the learning of rules of action together with the data that support these rules. They reveal a theoretical weakness, however, in their view of action as a necessary method by which to acquire knowledge.

We have not learned, then, from these representative empirical studies, very much more than was known at the time that Griffin wrote his dissertation. In the meantime, theoretical developments, not without empirical support, have further refined Griffin's theory and have indicated more precisely what would be involved in rigorous testing of it.

ANALYTIC HISTORY

One refinement in the basic theory of reflection is now being made in the field of history. This development is particularly important to a theory of teaching the social studies because it is history, more than any other school subject, that has dominated the social studies curriculum. The methodology of history is now undergoing something of a revolution, paralleled and supported by developments in philosophy, semantics, and logic.

The work of David Potter perhaps best exemplifies what is happening to the research methods of historians. His study, *People of Plenty* (1954), is significant on two scores—

for its revision of Turner's frontier thesis, and for its borrowing of research methods from the behavioral sciences. He distinguished between description and explanation as research problems in history, and compared historical research with related and more precise studies in sociology and anthropology.

He pointed out that the national character of the American people has been discussed by Henry Steele Commager, Allan Nevins, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Samuel Eliot Morison, James Truslow Adams, Charles and Mary Beard, Vernon Parrington, Ralph H. Gabriel, Merle Curti, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Louis Hacker, to mention only a few. These names constitute a distinguished roster in historical scholarship. All have described and interpreted American national character. One would expect to find the idea of an American national character clarified and refined by their efforts. "Yet the fact is," said Potter, "that historians have done very little either to clarify or to validate this concept which they employ so freely. The looseness with which the term 'national character' is used and the inconsistent meanings which attach to it are striking evidence of the lack of adequate analysis" (p. 8). For most historians, this term, like many others in their stock of intellectual tools, lacks the precision of a scientific concept. Literary expression and common sense rather than genuine concepts of a logical and scientific nature constitute much of the content of history. The difference between Potter and his less scientific colleagues is a manifestation of that more general difference discussed by C. P. Snow (1959) in his study of two cultures.

Potter believes that behavioral scientists such as Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Geoffrey Gorer, Karen Horney, and Abram Kardiner have made significant contributions to a delineation of American national character. In contrast, the research of professional historians appears to be almost totally empty of meaning. Concluding that the methodology of the behavioral sciences would be useful in any study of the past,

Potter applied that methodology, in the second half of his book, to an appraisal and study of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. He concluded that economic abundance, rather than a physical frontier, accounts for much of what American national character has become, and this factor of abundance continues to shape the character of the American people to this very day, long after the disappearance from American geography of a physical frontier.

Many historians, and not only those who prefer literature to science, will disagree with Potter's interpretation of Turner. But his suggested reforms in historical method can be appraised without regard to this substantive conclusion. It would appear that Potter's reconstruction of research method is parallel to certain developments in psychology and philosophy. Potter indicated in his study, for example, a preference for the kind of careful analysis of concepts illustrated by Bruner and his co-workers (1956). Potter also distinguished between description and explanation, as did Hempel (1959) and Oppenheim and Hempel (1953).

The Problem of Explanation

Hempel (1959) has argued the strength of one kind of explanation--the model used in the natural sciences. In these sciences an event is explained when it is subsumed under a general law or theory. He discussed and urged the application of this model to historical events. The failures and mistakes of Buckle, Marx, and Toynbee constitute no argument against use of the model. Their failures simply indicate how difficult historical research is. These failures also raise questions about the degree to which historians possess scientific knowledge. Are there precise and meaningful criteria by which to choose between conflicting interpretations or explanations?

The Hempel model for an explanation is triadic and syllogistic. It consists of a general law or hypothesis which functions as a major premise in a syllogism. The minor premise

describes what Hempel calls the boundary or antecedent conditions for the event to be explained, according to the general law stated by the major premise. The minor premise simply states the presence of these boundary conditions within a certain state of affairs existing in space and time. The conclusion of the syllogism, then, is a description of the event to be explained. It is significant to note that Hempel's explanation contains a great deal of what historians would call description, but the description functions within a logic of explanation, and any description that is irrelevant to any part of the syllogism is omitted. This use of description differs from the practice of those historians who define explanation merely as more detailed description.

Many historians will argue against the use of Hempel's model on the ground that there are no discoverable laws in history. Hempel, for example, in an attempt to explain a given revolution, would first try to decide what type of revolution it is. This attempt would take him into what Bruner would call concept analysis. Hempel would then try to find out whether certain social conditions are always antecedent to the occurrence of revolutions of a certain type. If no such relationship has been established by historical research, Hempel would simply conclude that there is no scientific explanation for revolutions of that type. The historians who claim that they have an explanation even though it is not very scientific would simply be opening up the question of whether all knowledge is scientific.

Even though many historians deny that there are laws in history, they do not hesitate to make generalizations, any one of which may be taken by an unreflective student to be a law. The application of Hempel's model to the explanations offered by any historian would help a student to reflect upon the adequacy of those explanations. If any explanation were to imply a law, or something like a law, the use of Hempel's model would make the implication quite explicit. Having the idea in the open, so to speak, would enable a student to determine whether it is

testable, what it might mean, and, if testable, rather than merely clever and literary, to inquire whether there were grounds for accepting it. This procedure, highly reflective as it is, could not help but make history clearer, even to the slowest student, and would reveal in a given case precisely whether a historian knew what he was talking about.

Students who take this approach to their reading and study of history will understand it better and become less susceptible to the pitfall of easy familiarity.

History Textbooks and Explanation

The pitfall of easy familiarity originates to a considerable degree in the way textbooks in history are manufactured. The conditions surrounding textbook manufacturing practically guarantee that the textbook content will be conceptually empty at the same time that students, particularly the bright ones, will be led to believe that they are learning great and significant truths.

Over the years a standard content has been established in American and world history. An American history text that fails to mention the Emancipation Proclamation in both index and body runs the risk of losing customers among those who believe the book to be seriously incomplete because of this omission. But a book that is complete must also be up to date. If it fails to mention the more recent events, particularly those that have been admitted to the field of history since competing texts were published, it will lose customers among those who want a "new" or "modern" or "different" book. But a book that is complete and up-to-date must also be portable if it is to be used in schools that make use of a platoon system (in which two groups of pupils, called platoons, alternate in studying the tool subjects and in engaging in activities in special rooms) or homework, both of which require students to carry their books about. The requirement of portability places some general limit upon number of pages and weight.

The general requirement, then, of any textbook writer in the field of high school history is to write about more and more within roughly the same number of pages. Any modern tendency to make a book attractive and "teachable" by including charts, tables, pictures, and end-of-chapter teaching aids cuts into precious space. The only solution is for the writer to express himself in generalities, leaving out all the detail that would give these generalities meaning. He proceeds to violate a "law" laid down by William James who said that no one sees any further into a generalization than his knowledge of detail extends.

What does this practice of confronting students with other people's generalizations mean? How does it make students victims of the pitfall of easy familiarity? First, it must be recognized that a writer turns to generalities because he can use them as a kind of shorthand, a language that helps him to compress a great deal of information into a few words. Second, if he understands his own generalizations, it is because he possesses the information upon which they are based. Third, students won't understand what he is saying unless they also possess his information, and they seldom do. Fourth, they will be most aware of their ignorance only if the generalities are cast in technical language, the most effective of all shorthand. Fifth, history does not possess a technical language, such as is found in sociology or economics, but uses instead the abstractions of popular language. Because history uses a nontechnical language, students may feel that they are learning more than they are. Hence, they become victims of easy familiarity. The student in an economics course who is perplexed by the abstraction *marginal utility* may learn nothing. The student in history who reads the term *Manifest Destiny* may learn nothing but believe that he has learned something. A little analysis, which takes time and information, would help him learn the extent to which historical content is "true" as against the extent to which it is merely clever in its language and phrasing.

A knowledge of the kinds of explanatory sketches presented in textual materials is not available in the studies of bias listed by McPhie (1959), perhaps because the distinction between explanation and description was not a common one at the time most of these studies were made. We do not know at this time the extent to which explanations offered by social studies textbooks are descriptive, pseudo, teleological, or incomplete. Neither have studies been made of the logical or empirical adequacy of the explanations offered by textual materials. As pointed out below, Swift (1958) has suggested certain criteria for the evaluation of any explanation—the presence of lawlike statements, the testability of such statements, their truth, and finally, internal validity, that is, whether the statement describing or naming the event to be explained follows logically from the reasons stated in the major and minor premises.

One doctoral study has examined explanations in high school social studies textual material. Palmer (1960) studied 27 textbooks in world and American history to test the hypothesis that "high school history textbooks, by the explanations of social change they provide, contribute significantly to an understanding of the process of social change" (p. 187). His conception of an explanation was a broad one, not limited to Hempel's model or Swift's criteria. To test his hypothesis, he asked two questions: What is the nature of the explanations of social change which appear in high school history textbooks? and Do these explanations give promise of contributing significantly to the reader's understanding of the processes of social change?

Palmer used a jury to judge the adequacy of the explanations, rather than relying upon his own opinion alone. He found a high correlation between his and the jury's opinion. Only 5 of the 27 books, or 18 per cent, were rated as contributing significantly to the students' understanding of the process of social change. This percentage might well have been lower if Palmer had used the rigorously logical and empirical criteria implicit in Hempel's model. Of the books in his sample,

41 per cent were rated as contributing little or nothing to the readers' understanding of social change; 80 per cent were judged "inadequate" in their treatment of social change.

A study that reveals the theoretical inadequacies of textual material is more useful to teachers whose purpose is conceptual learning than are studies of bias in textbooks. A teacher of conceptual learning will approach biased or unbiased material in the same way; but the teacher who finds that the material lacks conceptual content, and emphasizes instead merely factual offerings, has a problem that may best be solved by not using that material at all except for reference purposes.

The Study and Teaching of Explanation

Swift (1958, 1959, 1961) has examined the teaching of explanation as one aspect of instruction in critical thinking. His research suggests the kinds of classroom procedures in which teachers should be educated if they are to teach students how to make reflective tests of the explanations offered by present-day teaching materials in history. He has suggested that a historical explanation along Hempel's model may be "a deductive argument in which the premises have empirical content" (Swift, 1958, p. 16).

The adequacy of an explanation, according to Hempel's model, would be determined by a reflective test that included analysis of concepts, empirical testing of major and minor premises, and deduction of conclusions from logically related premises. The criteria for an adequate explanation, according to Swift's interpretation of Hempel's model, would be: (1) the presence of a major premise that is lawlike, testable, and true, (2) the inclusion of a minor premise, testable and true, that states the presence of antecedent conditions, and (3) a description of the event to be explained.

It may be recalled that Griffin's study referred to a hypothetical class that sought the reasons why Alexander was able to conquer an immense territory with a small army. This

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class hypothesized that a people will not fight to maintain a government in which they have no voice. This generalization can be treated as a major premise in a possible explanation. It would run as follows:

Major Premise: If a population of a country has no voice in its government, it will not fight to defend that government or country against foreign attack, and a small army could conquer such a country even though the country's population might be quite large.

Minor Premise: At the time that Alexander invaded Persia with an army of no more than 35,000 troops, the people of Persia had little or no voice in the government headed by Darius.

Conclusion: Alexander conquered Persia with an army much smaller than the total population of that country.

It will be argued that a reflective test of the major premise, if it is to mean anything, would require a student to learn so much more history than he could ever be expected to learn in four years of high school that he would be well advised not to make or test any generalizations at all for fear that he might begin to believe certain ones without sufficient ground for doing so. This is a calculated risk that may be much less dangerous than the risk taken by those teachers who expose students to written history without requiring criticism from the student.

Hempel believes, for example, that many of the explanations in historical writings are pseudo, or incomplete. Unless the student receives help from his teacher in analyzing explanations, he will not be able to judge the adequacy of these explanations. The danger that he will reach wrong conclusions seems greater in a straight, chronological, descriptive course than in one that emphasizes analysis. In the latter kind of course he may learn to label as pseudo explanation any explanation whose premises are untestable. These are the explanations that explain "the achievements of a person in terms of his 'mission in history,' his 'predestined fate,' or similar notions" that are metaphorical rather than law-like in their content and language. Such ex-

planations "convey pictorial and emotional appeals instead of insight into factual connections" (Hempel, 1959, p. 347). These pseudo explanations may be logical in their connections between premises, but this fact only makes the explanation valid, not true.

An incomplete explanation, or, as Hempel calls it, an explanation sketch, omits some part of the triad, usually the major premise. A typical example would be a passage that lists and discusses reasons for the occurrence of an event. In explaining a fire, it may be said that the barn burned down because someone dropped a cigarette in the hay. A political movement, it is said, gained adherents because of widespread racial prejudice. The following passage from a popular high school text in American history is a typical explanation sketch:

"During the war, industry had begun to spread into the South and West, so there was increased sentiment for protection in these agricultural areas."

This appears to be a plausible explanation for a change in public sentiment toward tariffs. At least, high school students are not likely to be critical of such an explanation unless their teacher encourages and helps them. Students who read this "explanation" and commit it to memory may actually feel that they have learned; but a translation of this passage so that it reads like a syllogism changes its appearance and may even bring students to wonder about its truth.

Major premise: If an agricultural region begins to acquire industries, an initial effect is an increased public sentiment favorable to tariffs which would protect new industries from foreign competition.

Minor premise: During World War I new industries began to develop in southern and western United States, two regions traditionally agricultural.

Conclusion: During World War I, the sentiment in favor of protective tariffs increased in southern and western United States (Metcalf, 1960, p. 29).

The use of Hempel's model enables us to look carefully at the major premise, precisely

defining its key terms, and examining empirically its probable truth or falsity. Hempel calls this process "filling in" an explanation sketch. The sketches are clearer as a consequence of this "filling in," and the student is more certain as to whether he has learned the true antecedents of an event.

Not every sketch needs to be filled in. Neither Hempel nor Swift indicates clearly what criteria he would use in deciding whether to submit a sketch to thorough analysis. Swift's only direct contribution on this point is his comment that

Answers to some why-questions will necessarily be dealt with at the level of common-sense familiarity. If the question arises, Why did Americans migrate in large numbers to California in 1848-49?, it can be met in the incomplete form by the answer: Because gold was discovered there. The generalization that people will flock to areas where minerals are newly discovered, or simply that many people are attracted by prospective riches, is probably not a new insight into social phenomena for most students. Here, the process of detecting it as an assumption and formulating it as a generalization is not worth the time (Swift, 1958, p. 16).

Obviously, teachers will tend to push their students into a somewhat thorough analysis of those sketches which in their view lack validity or truth. In this way they hope that their students will avoid the learning of error. But good teachers would not want to limit analysis to sketches that are wrong, for a student can learn just as much from analysis of sketches that are right and, at the same time, the teacher can avoid giving the impression that the only purpose of analysis is the destruction of belief.

Griffin proposed that students re-examine beliefs in the closed areas of American culture. A closed area has been defined as "a segment of culture which traditionally has been largely closed to reflective examination, and within which many superstitions and rationalizations may be identified" (Hunt & Metcalf, 1955, p. xi). Students pick up beliefs unreflectively from all segments of their cul-

ture; these beliefs are acquired willy-nilly very early in life. Beliefs dominant in such closed areas as sex, social class, religion, patriotism, and economics are most likely to be fuzzy and invalid because it is in such areas that emotions run high. Maximum social insight might be fostered if teachers used the closed area criterion as a basis for deciding which explanation sketches to require their students to fill in. This criterion would then become the standard for selecting content as well as for deciding whether to submit an explanation sketch to analysis.

Hempel has observed that historians sometimes use an empathetic method of explanation. They ask their students to put themselves in the place of a person who participated in some historical event.

The historian . . . imagines himself in the place of the persons involved in the events which he wants to explain; he tries to realize as completely as possible the circumstances under which they acted, and the motives which influenced their actions; and by this imaginary self-identification with his heroes, he arrives at an understanding and thus at an adequate explanation of the events with which he is concerned (Hempel, 1959, p. 352).

This method can be fruitful in generating explanatory hypotheses, but it does not test the adequacy of any hypothesis. It is also possible to arrive at hypotheses without recourse to empathy, as in the case of a sane teacher who hypothesizes about the behavior of mentally disturbed persons. At best, this method is a device for getting ideas, and it serves this purpose without putting ideas to a logical or experimental test.

Another contribution by Swift is his careful distinction between explanation, on the one hand, and description, interpretation, and chronology, on the other. These are useful categories for a study of teaching. It would be revealing to know the extent to which teachers describe or interpret rather than explain. To what extent do they use a chronological or genetic approach to the process of explanation? To what extent do teachers rely

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upon the psychology of an empathetic approach rather than the logic of Hempel's model? To what extent do they use what Swift has called the teleological explanation? Thus, how many teachers teach that the Pilgrims came to America because they desired religious freedom, and how do such teachers "prove" the motives of the Pilgrims? Are motives simply attributed, or do the teachers approach the problem of motive in much the same way in which a court of law would approach it?

In a further study of how the teaching of explanation may foster development of critical thinking in the social studies, Swift (1959) identified different types of explanation and classified them according to their logical rigor. First, he distinguished between relational and nonrelational explanations. Nonrelational explanations amount to descriptions or interpretations. In a nonrelational explanation a teacher may ask students to "explain separation of powers in American federal government," or "explain the use of a map scale," or "explain how to locate a biography of Jackson in the school library." Swift comments on these examples:

The expected response in instances like these is a series of statements cataloging information, naming certain symbols, describing characteristics of especially constituted governmental branches, or describing a series of actions supplemented with particular items of information (Swift, 1959, p. 14).

The student who "explains" separation of powers usually names the branches of government, the operations of each, and then describes the procedures and criteria by which governmental functions are divided among the branches. The teacher may then ask the student to illustrate the meaning of separation of powers by tracing a bill through Congress and showing what can happen in case of a presidential veto or Supreme Court decision which invalidates an act of Congress. Running throughout this conception of explanation is an emphasis upon sheerly descriptive information which places no de-

mands upon the logic of teacher or student. No doubt most teachers equate explanation with description, particularly if they define learning as memorization and rely upon recitation as the only reliable "method" of teaching. Actually, empirical studies of teachers' conceptions of explanation have not been made, so one can only guess at the number of them who have a nonrelational conception.

Swift mainly upholds the value of relational explanation, which he defines as one that explains an "affair in terms of some other affair, condition, or situation" (p. 124). He then classifies relational explanations into two types, rational and nonrational. Nonrational relational explanations, although sometimes logical, are never both logical and empirical in their criteria. Anthropomorphic explanation is one example of a nonrational relational explanation. A teleological explanation, if it refers to some ultimate purpose, was classified by Swift as nonrational relational.

The major part of Swift's study was devoted to rational relational types, each of which satisfies his four criteria for judging the adequacy of an explanation. Swift identified and discussed five types of rational relational explanation: (1) the dispositional, (2) the psychological, (3) the genetic, (4) the causal, and (5) the historical.

Types (1) and (2), dispositional and psychological explanations, refer to some inner state of the individual, such as purpose, need, or tension, but oddly enough Swift did not classify them as teleological. He appeared to reserve this term for inner states that are said to express the ultimate purpose of God, nation, or universe. The logic for this distinction between immediate and ultimate purposes is not always clear.

Swift granted that teachers who ask apparently teleological questions may have in mind a concept other than purpose, human or divine. The teacher who asks, "What is the purpose of the Federal Communications Commission?" may be trying to find out whether the class can list the *functions* given

to this commission by Congress. When he asks about the purposes for dropping an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, he may have *effects* in mind. But some questions of a teacher do refer to purpose, such as "What was Wilson's purpose in going to Europe?"

The latter question, which Swift would classify as an attempt by the teacher to elicit a rational explanation from his students, causes one to wonder whether individual purposes in history are any more accessible than so-called ultimate purposes of the universe. It is possible to learn from a study of letters and other documents what Wilson's stated purposes were for going to Europe, but everyone knows that stated purposes are not always the same as motivating purposes. Some people lie about their purposes; others do not know their purposes well enough to state them; still others do not understand their purposes well enough to pursue them with appropriate means. If the policies or behavior of an individual are inconsistent with his stated purposes, it does not follow that he is a liar. Other inferences are more charitable and just as reasonable. The reason for inconsistency between what people say and what they do are not always accessible to empirical investigation, and one may be restricted in his analysis to concluding no more than whether behavior and stated purpose are consistent. Despite this limitation, Swift would treat all teleological explanations, except those which deal with ultimate purposes, as rational in type. He prefers the terms *dispositional* or *psychological* to *teleological* for any explanation that relies upon some judgment of an individual's inner state or purpose. The possibility that all such judgments make some use of an empathetic method is never mentioned by Swift.

His rejection of explanations that deal in ultimate rather than immediate or stated purpose is summarized in an incisive discussion of Manifest Destiny:

At least two kinds of objections have been raised against teleological explanations of events—the objection that they attribute hu-

man characteristics to nonhuman entities, and the objection that the terms, which name the entelechy or the force are in the last analysis undefinable with reference to a set of observable characteristics. Concerning undefinability, the difficulty can be seen in a claim that America expanded to the Pacific because it was her Manifest Destiny to do so. . . . the expression "Manifest Destiny" is not susceptible of precise definition to the extent of being able to assert what is and what is not an instance of it. The actual population movement is traceable through such sources as land office records and the Bureau of the Census, and hence the expression "expansion to the Pacific" can be defined in terms of density of population and coverage of territory. But the term "Manifest Destiny" as a characteristic of a nation offers considerable difficulty (Swift, 1959, pp. 57-58).

In Swift's discussion, the only difference between dispositional and psychological explanations is that the former refers to purpose at the level of human action while the latter refers to any inner state of purpose, belief, tension, and the like. As long as a purpose is not claimed to be ultimate, Swift has no trouble with it. "Why is he driving to the city? Because he wants to do some shopping." is offered as an example of dispositional explanation. In defining psychological explanation, Swift says that the thing to be explained is a human action, and the reason for the action is some internal condition of the organism. In psychology the latter is called an "intervening variable." He then offers the following as an example of a psychological explanation:

For example, Custer's defeat by the Sioux on the Little Big Horn may be explained in terms of relationships of numbers of men, of distance between his troops and possible reinforcements, as well as in terms of his temperament and his knowledge about the whereabouts of the Sioux, i.e., his military intelligence. . . . When particular explanations are offered which emphasize the internal conditions of the actor rather than the antecedent conditions of the external environment, the explanation sketch on occasion is described as

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"psychological" rather than as "physical" or "natural" (Swift, 1959, p. 66)

The problem of formulating dispositional and psychological explanations as rational types comes into the open when one casts either into Hempel's syllogistic form. If one were to explain an action of Lincoln's by reference to an inner state, the syllogism might be:

Major Premise: Lincoln as President of the United States, in decision situations affecting national policy on the Civil War issue, followed the line of action he thought would contribute to the strength and cohesiveness of the Federal Union.

Minor Premise: Lincoln thought that freeing the slaves would contribute to the strength and cohesiveness of the Federal Union.

Conclusion: Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

Regardless of whether "strength and cohesiveness of the Federal Union" was one of Lincoln's immediate or ultimate purposes, how is one to know his innermost desires? A radical behaviorist would say that one could never know.

In any event, it appears that an explanation that relies upon observable instead of inner elements would have more rigor. Griffin, in his analysis of beliefs, ignores inner, or private, states. A person who says that he does not like Negroes may very well express a personal belief, but it is the kind of belief that cannot be tested with publicly accessible evidence. Whether a person dislikes Negroes cannot be established from anything that a person says or does, for the evidence on how he feels is inside the speaker. Not even his overt behavior can be taken as evidence one way or the other because people who like Negroes often behave no differently from people who dislike Negroes. Only a statement such as "many Negroes, according to present-day intelligence tests, are more intelligent than many white persons" qualifies as a testable belief. It can be tested by reference to publicly available evidence, and one

need pay no attention to inner belief in order to confirm or disconfirm this kind of assertion.

Swift rejects as pseudo explanation the kind of teleology expressed in the statement that "the element of purpose may be viewed as a remote future condition or state of affairs which in some manner is supposed to control the shape of developments through extended periods of time, or it may be viewed as a process of change influenced by a purposing agent which is superpersonal rather than human" (p. 55). He does not include in this rejection explanations "in which the reason is a statement about the aims or objectives of a person in a decision-making capacity. . ." (p. 56). He does not clarify the exact process by which he would verify the purposes of a decision-maker. He refers vaguely to documents, statements, and the like, all of which suggests that he would take stated purposes at face value.

Type (3), as we have seen, consists of the chronological or genetic type of explanation. The genetic explanation answers a *why* question by listing a series of events or stages, and each item in the series is said to lead up to the next item. The relationship of item to item is at least temporal, and teachers who ask pupils to "trace" something probably approach explanation problems with chronology rather than science or logic as their major intellectual tool. Unless we can show that events such as A, B, and C, under certain conditions, always result in an event such as D, we have not explained D, according to the Hempel model. Without the protection of Hempel's model, the genetic method of explanation may lead into the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* fallacy. The genetic approach also assumes that the past makes the present, yet Smith (1938) has proved that it would be equally reasonable to argue that the past is a construct of the present.

Type (4), causal explanations, are offered by Swift as another example of rational explanation of a relational type. Such explanations name certain events as the cause of other events, and as in genetic explanations,

the relationship of events may be no more than temporal. Explanations that list causes are logically no different from those that list reasons. They are incomplete, and "filling in" is their most essential need. A causal explanation is typically divided into three parts, the causes of an event, the event itself, and the effects of the event. Typically, the teacher who asks for causal explanations will, in his treatment of the Civil War, require the student to name at least three causes of the war, to describe major events in the war, and then list results of the war.

Swift maintained that an analysis of causal explanations requires a teacher to distinguish, or help his students to distinguish, between necessary causes, and causes that are both necessary and sufficient. It is very doubtful that most teachers actually do so, since their education seldom provides them with the necessary instruction in logic. It appears that some casting of causal explanation into a subsumptive form would help a teacher and his students to draw the distinction between necessary and sufficient historical explanation.

Type (5), historical explanation, is the last example considered by Swift. Its chief feature is the assumption that historical events are unique and nonrecurring. Emphasis is upon accounts of the past, without predictions of the future. Prediction, like subsumptive explanation, requires events to be classified, and the assumption that everything is unique can be interpreted so as to deter one from classification. Bruner has observed sagely that classification does not deny the uniqueness of events (Bruner, et al., 1956), and therefore those who argue for uniqueness could succumb to logic and classification without giving up uniqueness as a value and a criterion. No two civil wars are exactly alike, and neither are any two cases of measles or mumps, but there is intellectual advantage to grouping wars of a certain kind and treating them as if they were the same, despite the differences that make each unique. In fact, it is not possible to know that an object is a unique example of its kind ex-

cept as we know differences between it and other objects of the same kind. Certainly, when a person says that his cat is unique, he means very little and communicates even less except as he can clearly indicate the attributes shared by all cats, pointing out also that his cat possesses these as well as a few others that comprise its uniqueness. Those who limit explanations to the historical type generally search out the uniqueness of events rather than their generality, and this factor accounts for much of their style of history teaching.

It is clear not only that Swift prefers relational explanations to nonrelational, and rational to nonrational, but also that his four criteria lead to a further conclusion—that the subsumptive or scientific explanation, has more rigor than any other type of rational relational explanation. Its rigor places one in a position to determine how much scientific knowledge a particular historian has and the extent to which he relies upon opinion or literary expression as a substitute for knowledge. If there is any flaw in Swift's reasoning, it is in his willingness to treat dispositional or psychological explanations as essentially different from those teleological explanations that assume cosmic intent; this is not a serious flaw, however, as long as he confines his "knowledge" of human purpose to the realm of stated purposes and their consistency with what people do.

Swift's research suggests one direction for research on teachers, their methods, and materials. One would expect teachers to differ in usages and conceptions of explanation, and that some, but not all, of the differences would be related to the context of the teaching—grade level, subject matter, ability of student, community climate, and so on. One would also expect teachers to be confused as to differences between description, classification, interpretation, explanation, and justification. Probably their explanations would lack logical or empirical rigor. But the actual state of affairs is not known, because these features of classroom teaching have not been studied except in an exploratory sense by

Smith (1960). We do not know whether teachers appraise an explanation by asking appropriate questions about the meaning of terms, about generalizations and the assumptions they imply, about empirical data related to testing a generalization, or about the validity of conclusions in relation to premises.

Regardless of what teachers are now doing, it is clear from Swift's analysis of explanation as one aspect of critical thinking that the training of teachers should prepare them not only to make explanations but also to teach students about the general nature of explanation and the problems that an explanation may be expected to solve. Swift suggests that instruction in explanation as a process should require teachers to raise questions such as the following:

1. Is this an explanation or a description?
2. What kind of thing is being explained?
3. What are the word clues that show it is an explanation?
4. What are the reasons offered in the explanation sketch?
5. How complete is the explanation? (Swift 1959, p. 130).

Swift's approach to teaching history emphasizes use of logic and scientific method; it does not assume that there is a "logic of history," nor does it express any doctrine of "historical necessity" or "historical inevitability." Some philosophers of history—Geyl and Collingwood—have attributed authoritarian orientations to any approach to history that is concerned with making and testing lawlike generalizations. Possibly the same critics would regard a method of teaching that is largely rational as similarly authoritarian in its effects. The weakness of these criticisms seems to be that they identify any attempt to generalize with a tendency to be doctrinaire. Actually, Swift's analysis, to the extent that it is a refinement of those of Dewey, Griffin, Bayles, and others who have written on the nature and value of reflective teaching, strengthens our defenses against doctrinaire interpretations of any kind, regardless of their source.

THE PROBLEM OF CONCEPT ANALYSIS

Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin (1956) offered a refinement of Griffin's conception of a concept. Griffin seems to define a concept as any idea cast in propositional form and does not distinguish between a concept and a generalization. Bruner makes this distinction when he defines a concept as a category or classification. The act of categorization renders "discriminably different things equivalent," or "groups the objects and events and people around us into classes," so that one can "respond to them in terms of their class membership rather than their uniqueness" (Bruner, Goodnow, & Austin, 1956, p. 1).

Categories are invented, not discovered. "Science and common-sense inquiry alike do not discover the ways in which events are grouped in the world; they invent ways of grouping" (Bruner, Goodnow, & Austin, 1956, p. 7). If one decides to group things differently in science from the way they have been grouped in the past, it is because one expects to be able to make more accurate predictions as a result of this change in categories. As soon as one recognizes that categories are invented rather than discovered, he no longer falls into the error of trying to prove that his categories are true or right. Definitions are recognized as definitions, and not treated as propositions.

Bruner and his co-workers further refined the meaning of a concept by describing the various types. Most people assume that the conjunctive type—one defined in terms of common elements—is the only kind. The assertion that "all men are mortal" is conjunctive, although a conjunctive concept may have more than one common attribute. Bruner has learned that the strategies that are successful for learning conjunctive concepts will not work as well with other kinds of concepts.

Another kind of concept is disjunctive; this kind is defined in terms not of common elements but of alternative attributes. A strike

in baseball, for example, may be a pitch that passes over the plate within a certain zone, or it may be a pitch that the batter swings at and misses, or it may be a ball hit into foul territory when the count on the batter includes fewer than two strikes. If one studies all instances of a strike in baseball, and if he assumes conjunctivity, he may not learn the concept, or he may learn it incompletely.

The incomplete learning of a concept that results from taking a conjunctive stance toward a disjunctive concept may be illustrated by the concept of citizen. This concept may be viewed as either conjunctive or disjunctive. If a citizen is defined as a person born in this country, or as a person who has passed certain examinations, or whose parents were born in this country, the concept of citizen is disjunctive. But if one defines a citizen as a person who can vote and hold public office, the concept is conjunctive. Assuming that this concept is disjunctive would probably enable us to learn the concept more completely than assuming that it is conjunctive. The scientific tradition in our culture predisposes everyone to assume all concepts to be conjunctive. If Bruner is correct in his analysis, teachers need to be ready to help students who approach all concepts as if they were conjunctive.

A third kind of concept is the relational. This type expresses a certain relationship among the attributes of a concept. Full employment, as the economist defines it, is probably a relational concept. It expresses at the very least a relationship between size of labor force and number of unemployed. But it also includes length of work week, productivity per man-hour, and value of the product. Since technological change, price fluctuations, and monetary policy affect these factors, full employment is a dynamic concept as well as a relational one. A relational concept, to the extent that it expresses a relationship that is empirical rather than definitional, amounts to a generalization. Thus the identity of concept and generalization in Griffin's original theory, as mentioned above (see page 961), is once more before us.

Bruner has identified strategies followed by subjects in a clinical environment as they pursued the learning of nonverbal concepts. Strategies vary with type of concept, cognitive strain, order of presentation, and other factors.

The significance for teaching of the work of Bruner and his colleagues is not entirely clear. There is no doubt of its significance as a psychological study, although it suggests only in broad ways what may be involved in the analysis of a concept by teachers and students alike.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This summary of research on teaching concepts and a process of reflective thought in the social studies suggests that division of labor among research workers may have disadvantages. One group of investigators has worked on building a comprehensive theory of social studies education. This group has pretty much rejected controlled experimentation as a research tool. It claims, however, that its theory is not in conflict with well-established facts. Another group has gathered and counted facts without weighing their significance for basic theoretical problems. There has been notably little interaction or communication between the two groups. Each has worked independently of the other. Each probably always will be, unappreciative of the other's conception of research.

A few studies have attempted to test the effectiveness of a problem-solving method of teaching. The group that carried out these studies was not anti- or nontheoretical in its research interests and conceptions. But their studies, with the exception of those done under Bayles, have not shown a sufficient understanding of the more comprehensive theory of problem-solving as developed by Dewey and Griffin, and as refined and extended by the related work of Swift and Bruner. The net result is that the research findings of this group are largely irrelevant to an experimental testing of the comprehensive theory.

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There are many reasons why the kind of theory that Griffin has developed has not been experimentally tested. The most likely reason is that it will never be a popular theory among the many interest groups that shape and influence educational policy. An experiment that tested this theory might find its teachers criticized by the community for engaging in seemingly subversive activity. Any teacher who creates student doubt about dominant community beliefs, no matter how obvious his commitment to democratic ideals and reflective process, runs some risk of community displeasure or misunderstanding.

A second reason is that even our best prepared teachers have not been well trained in logic and scientific method. Moreover, their acquisition of content from college courses has seldom been reflective in quality. It is one of Griffin's claims that a teacher can best use content reflectively if he acquired it that way. The tendency of college professors to use methods other than the method of reflection is well established. College courses are concerned with dissemination of content and little concerned with methods of inquiry.

One large question raised by Griffin's theory is whether organized content and methods of inquiry can be learned in the same course. It is a question that so far has not been investigated experimentally by professional workers in departments of educational research. Griffin's proposition that "the reflective examination of any proposition tends to develop skill in the use of the method" (p. 193), if true, would settle part of the matter. Students would simply reflect upon their beliefs, using organized content as a basis for reaching conclusions, and this practice of reflection would develop their reflective capacity. There would be the question of whether a student who reflected upon his beliefs would necessarily learn subject matter as a logical structure, but this question could be answered through experimentation.

There is some doubt, however, as to the truth of Griffin's proposition. This doubt is expressed by Griffin in the following statement:

A formal course in reflective thinking *as a beginning point* would be absurd; but the need *at some point* to pull the process out and look at it is an implication of the intent to develop teachers who can promote reflection not only through habitual ways of handling materials, but *on purpose* (Griffin, 1942, p. 214).

For purposes of teacher training, then, it is not enough to have teachers take courses in which content is covered and learned reflectively. Occasionally, the professors who teach teachers must stop what they are doing and have their students make a direct study of what has been taking place. By implication, teachers of high school social studies should do the same thing if their students are to understand and appreciate the connection between reflective process and the survival of democratic values.

To say that students must at some point in a history course, let us say, pause in their study of history in order to take up a study of historical method as an example of reflective thinking suggests that content and reflection cannot be learned at one and the same time, except to the degree that reflection is learned through practice. To what extent can reflection be learned through practice? To what extent can reflection be studied directly within a course that has other goals, largely goals in substantive content? Can students who reflect upon their beliefs acquire organized content in the sense of coming to understand the basic structure of an intellectual discipline, and is knowledge of the structures of disciplines a necessary part of general education? These are some of the unanswered questions in Griffin's theory of social studies teaching which research has so far neglected to explore.

Research and theory in teaching the social studies have reached a point where no further progress is possible without a marriage of one to the other. So far, the two parties involved have been largely incompatible in their conceptions of research. Unless the research model and techniques of the professional research worker in education can be applied to testing and clarifying some of the

more comprehensive theories of social studies educators, the present impasse is bound to continue.

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Review of Research in the Teaching of Social Studies: 1960-1963

by SYLVIA E. HARRISON AND ROBERT J. SOLOMON

THE research reported here and cited in the accompanying bibliography includes published and unpublished research from 1960 through 1963, but there are undoubtedly some omissions, particularly in the latter category. Some studies listed in the bibliography are not discussed in this review. We have also attempted to limit this review to those studies that were reasonably rigorous in their approach. We have generally not included those that Massialas (75) calls the "I-used-such-and-such-classroom-aids-and-I-got-favorable-results" type. Where it seemed worthwhile, we have referred also to ongoing research, but there has been no attempt to be comprehensive in this area. The organization of this review is adapted from that used by Gross and Badger in their article on social studies research in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (47). In a separate report, now in preparation, Professor Jean Fair of Wayne State University will review recent research in social studies teacher education.

CURRICULUM

Elementary school. The findings of research on the interests and abilities of elementary school children imply a need to consider revisions in the elementary school social studies curriculum. The studies of McAulay (67, 68) in which he made use of tape recordings of group discussions of children, and of LaDue (61) in which he made use of children's art, writing, oral expression, and reading materials, indicated that elementary school children's interests lie in geographic areas from the child's own environment as well as from areas of the nation, world, and universe, and lie in current problems that dominate the local, national, and international scene. These studies, in conjunction with McAulay's studies on the contribution of Western TV programs to children's knowledge and understanding of the Western movement (71), and on first graders' excursion into German (69), led him to conclude that the present organization of the social studies underestimates the interests and information children have secured from travel and from the mass media. Greenblatt's analysis of subject preferences of elementary school children in the middle grades (46) finds the social studies in somewhat of a nebulous position—not significantly more preferred than the least desirable of the sub-

jects, and yet not significantly less preferred than the more desired.

Several studies of the social studies abilities of elementary school children have appeared recently in the literature. The studies of Cammarota (19), Beaubier (11), Spodek (118), and Katsounis (55) would all seem to indicate that elementary school children from kindergarten to the sixth grade can understand and work with a great deal more social studies content than is presently expected or provided. In particular, Cammarota found that films and filmstrips designed for use with the intermediate grades were more appropriate in the primary grades; Katsounis found that beginning third graders knew the answers to 37 percent of the items on a test of third-grade social studies before they had had instruction in this subject; Spodek tested the possibility of beginning a "spiral curriculum," in which the basic concepts of a subject are taught and repeated in a more complex form with each succeeding grade level, in the social studies at the kindergarten level, and concluded that kindergarten children could successfully begin to grasp significant concepts in the

With this issue *SOCIAL EDUCATION* inaugurates a new service, a review of recent research in the teaching of the social studies. This initial review covers the preceding four-year period, from January 1960 through December 1963. Later reviews, which will appear each year in the May issue, will deal with research reported during the preceding year.

We are grateful to the Research Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies for undertaking to carry on this difficult and time-consuming project as one of its continuing responsibilities.

For this initial review, we are especially indebted to SYLVIA E. HARRISON, a Research Assistant in the Test Development Division of the Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, and ROBERT J. SOLOMON, Associate Chairman of the NCSS Research Committee and ETS Vice President for General Programs, Test Development, and Statistical Analysis. The other members of the 1963 Research Committee were: Robert Cooke, Chairman, Ralph Cordier, Howard H. Cummings, Jean Fair, William Fisher, Verna Fancett, John Jarolimek, Jonathon McLendon, Walter McPhie, Evelyn Moore, Franklin Patterson, and Edith West.

fields of history and geography. McAulay's study (69) demonstrated that second graders are able to use maps to secure information on a removed, unknown, and contrasting physical environment as well as that with which they are familiar, and they are able to make comparisons and judgments in simple map work, and to transfer imagined concrete experiences to a map situation. Davies (27) and Farrar (37) have also studied the map skills and understandings of elementary school children.

Rogers and Layton (93) studied the ability of first and third graders to conceptualize based on social studies content. The results of the test which they developed to measure children's ability to group pictures illustrating social studies concepts indicated that one-third of both groups demonstrated an ability to conceptualize at a high level of abstraction. It was concluded that, while many children were able to formulate abstract social concepts, there was little growth in this ability during the two-year period of social studies instruction (from first to third grade).

McAulay (72), Arnsdorf (5), and Legere (62) all report that students in grades 2, 6, and 4 through 8, respectively, have a greater understanding of or a greater ability to understand time relationships with appropriate instruction than is assumed by the elementary school social studies curriculum. In particular, McAulay found that second graders have a clearer understanding of the past than they do of the present, of the removed time environment than of the immediate and personal. That is, the children were more likely to know whether Washington or Lincoln lived first than to know whether their mother or grandmother was oldest. Also Davis' study (28) with intermediate-grade children indicated that all of the experimental classes profited from instruction dealing with concepts of time and space related to geographic time zones.

Cammarota (18) discusses a study by David Easton and Robert Hess¹ of the University of Chicago who conclude on the basis of their research that: (1) children begin to learn about government and politics before they enter school, the formative years appearing to be those between the ages of three and 13; (2) children's political attitudes and values are firmly established by the time they leave the eighth grade; and (3) during high school students obtain much information about government and politics, but this knowledge has little effect upon values and attitudes previously formed. Easton and Hess conclude that the "processes of attachment to the political community and the regime begin at a considerably earlier age than one would expect." Easton and Hess do not draw implications from their find-

ings for the field of education, but Cammarota discusses the implication of this research for the content and organization of the elementary social studies program. In particular she presses for redefinition of learnings considered appropriate for various ages and for consideration of a spiral-type curriculum.

Both Smith (117) and McAulay (70) have studied the presentation of current events in the sixth and third grades, respectively. In particular, McAulay attempted to exploit the potential of the mass media—radio, TV, etc.—to help students understand current national and international events. Not surprisingly, his findings indicate that the mass media of communication, with proper use, can enrich the social studies curriculum. Smith's study in which use was made of a weekly elementary news publication revealed that sixth graders can be directed to reflective thinking about current events, which leads him to conclude that greater attention should be given current events in the total elementary social studies curriculum.

For several years, Senesh¹ (108) has been involved in an experiment in economic education in hopes of (1) finding out how much economic theory children at the different grade levels are able to learn, and (2) to develop an organic curriculum in which the main concepts of economics are introduced again and again in the framework of a K-12 curriculum. The intent of Senesh's experiment is to incorporate the study of economic relationships into the curriculum, so that the children are exposed to the most important relationships in the first grade. As they move from grade to grade they encounter the same basic concepts in their entirety though they are presented in increasing complexity and depth as the student matures. The success of Senesh's work is partly reflected in the fact that his first-grade materials, which include a record, an accompanying reader for the children, and a resource unit for the teacher, have just been published; and it is planned that materials will be published for the succeeding grades, one grade per year up through grade 12.

On the basis of his study to identify what can be provided in the way of economic education in the elementary social studies curriculum, and how well children in grades K-6 can learn selected economic concepts and generalizations, Darrin (26) concluded that the effectiveness of teaching the topics varied directly with grade level, the higher the grade the more effective the understanding of economic concepts.

Not all studies suggest that the content of the elementary school social studies curriculum should be upgraded. In testing 180 second graders, Mugge (78) reports the following tendencies in their responses: lack of precision in answers, inability to keep two factors in mind at once, difficulty in responding to

¹ Easton and Hess are presently preparing a volume on this and related data to be published sometime in 1964.

the key word in a question, and little grasp of time and place concepts. Her over-all findings indicate that many second graders lack readiness for comprehensive study of foreign people and places, as well as advanced content in community studies. It is suggested by Mugge that the discrepancy between the results of her study and previous research lies in the type of questions asked of the children.

Rusnak's three-year study (99) was an exploratory attempt to discover the limitations on the teaching of important social studies skills and concepts at the first grade. Four limitations were defined: (1) since first graders cannot read the social studies material, great use was made of other materials—pictures, field trips, films, etc.; (2) the need for simplicity was pointed up by the fact that first graders could not deal with more than two facts or activities simultaneously; (3) the fact that activities had to be divided into 15-minute periods indicated the need for brevity; (4) the children depend on close guidance from the teacher in order to understand what they are doing, and why. Adhering to these limitations, Rusnak could develop and use advanced social studies concepts and relationships with first graders. In all groups, there was evidence of both increased knowledge and interest in the social studies. Also, the limitations developed in this first study were found equally valid in a second study.

Secondary school. Both Anderson *et al* (3) and Moreland (77) have recently surveyed social studies course offerings in the secondary schools. The former survey was designed to investigate the content and organization of the social studies in grades 7 through 12. The results of a questionnaire, based on responses from random samples of 388 public, 248 Roman Catholic, and 233 independent schools, were examined in terms of (1) subject matter taught in the public schools, classified by size, percentage of graduates going to college, and region; and (2) differences and similarities among teaching practices in the public, Roman Catholic, and independent schools. The conclusions of the survey indicate that the majority of high schools require at least four semesters of social studies; organization of curriculum into separate courses is far more usual than block programs; the two most prevalent courses in all three types of schools are American history and world history, but they differ considerably with respect to the teaching of other courses, civics and government receiving greater emphasis in the public schools, ancient and medieval history and modern European history in the independent schools, and religion in the Roman Catholic schools; more schools are teaching more social studies courses than five years ago; and the variety of social studies courses offered in the public schools is a function of their size, the proportion of

students going to college, and somewhat of the region of the country in which they are located.

Moreland's study of 281 public schools was concerned more with trends than with present practices, though the evidence he cites is quite similar to that of the aforementioned study. He sees the social studies program as still oriented to the more traditionally organized subject matter courses; the general practice of curriculum in the social studies as one of changing emphases of subject matter within the courses rather than in the reorganization of basic course titles; the broadening of the social studies program with a greater variety of elective offerings, particularly geography and economics.

Siemers' questionnaire study (111, 112), based on the responses of 100 California world history teachers, found that a majority claimed to attempt to give equal coverage to every topic, though in fact more time was given to political and historical concepts than to social, military, and religious concepts; a majority favored a chronological rather than a topical approach in teaching history; two-thirds used some form of teaching unit, with lectures and discussions as primary teaching devices; two-thirds used teacher-constructed objective tests and class contribution to evaluate students, while one-half never used committee work and one-third never considered interest and cooperation in evaluation; 46 percent of the teachers had no social studies major in college; 56 percent taught two to four additional courses and had limited time to prepare adequately for the course and for varied use of materials and techniques. These latter considerations are evidence to Siemers of why world history is not liked by students. Seventy-five percent of these same teachers also indicated a desire for national leadership in the preparation of world history courses of study and resource units, and 62 percent desired leadership in examining the merits of a national social studies curriculum. Posey's examination of the eighth-grade social studies curriculum in Louisiana (38), Gandy's examination of geography as taught in the California high schools (43), and Thomson's examination of twelfth-grade social studies in the white Alabama high schools (122) are all curriculum studies which arrive at findings similar in one way or another to Siemers'. Still in the formative stage is a content analysis of the twelfth-grade social studies offerings in the Iowa high schools by Leland Holt and Donald Scovel of State College of Iowa. It is intended that the findings of the research will serve as a point of departure for effective curriculum revision in Iowa.

In line with curriculum revision, Adair (1) has formulated and tested a theory of predicting readiness for social studies curriculum change. Certain theoretical forces which augment or inhibit change were defined as based on empirical generalizations

and principles found in the literature. He concludes that his general theory for predicting readiness for curriculum change is substantiated.

Recent research has produced several exploratory studies and surveys concerning social studies courses that are not focused on history. Leppert's experimental high school course in economics (63), Casper's recommendation of four areas of needed research in geographic education (20), Nash's proposal, based on questionnaires sent to chairmen of social studies departments in universities, colleges, and high schools, that abstract sociological materials have a potentially valuable contribution to make to the achievement of social studies objectives (79), all suggest the beginnings of greater concern with the educational potential of less traditional courses and how they should be taught.

Since its inception in March, 1962, the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project (4) has been studying two basic problems: (1) identification of those areas in anthropology from which significant contributions to secondary education can be drawn; and (2) development of useful and practical ways of introducing anthropological concepts into the high school classroom. Based on the results of initial project activities which indicated that the conceptual tools and products of anthropological research have legitimate roles to play in secondary education, the first book, *The Emergence of Civilization*, is presently in experimental use in the context of world history courses.

In hopes of answering a need for reorientation of the social studies to provide a "world point of view," the NCSS has helped to conduct a pilot study aimed at discovering the most effective ways of building international understanding (38). By considering all the educational possibilities at all grade levels in all phases of the school program in one school system (Glens Falls, New York), the three-year ITWA project (Improving the Teaching of World Affairs) hoped to promote in the students an increased understanding, appreciation, and respect for other peoples and cultures, and a sense of personal and national responsibility (52).

A most recent approach to curriculum development cited by Hott and Sonstegard (51) has been the examination of students' self-concepts in relation to curricular offerings. In attempting to define and isolate the "social anchorages," that is "the shared experiences or group-held influences operating at a given time to affect behavior" that contribute to self-concept, a projective device, the Twenty Statement Test, was administered to 61 above-average junior high school students. The test required the student to make 20 responses to the question, "Who am I?" A startling note is that, though these students made several references to interests in the humanities, no

response expressed interest in, concern for, or identity with social studies experiences! The data indicate that not all reference groups and cultural objects have the same degree of saliency for these students, that is, there are very few references to patriotic and ecological identities, religion, political convictions, etc. The inference is made that possibly not enough is being done to relate curriculum to attitudinal profiles that reflect self-concepts and it is thought that the self-concepts as revealed by the Twenty Statement Test could be valuable in curriculum building, unit construction, counseling and guidance, etc.

INSTRUCTION

Methods. In comparing two methods of self-instruction in teaching an eighth-grade social studies unit, one without teacher supervision and one with pupil-teacher conferences, with the conventional class instruction practices, Ingham (53) found that only with high achievers did the self-instruction processes prove more effective in raising achievement. Otherwise, there was no significant difference among the three approaches.

Phillips (86) found that a core-like method of instruction is no more effective in achievement, in developing verbal, manipulative, and computational interests, and in improving social adjustment than a non-core-like method of instruction, and that a non-core-like method used in a double period was more productive of liberal attitudes than a core-like method in junior high social studies classes.

Baughman and Pruitt (10), in comparing the gains on social studies achievement tests in grades 7 and 8 as a function of (1) supplemental study for enrichment, the assignment of homework designed to encourage exploration in depth of a given area and a creative approach to study, or (2) supplemental study for reinforcement, the assignment of homework of a traditional and routine variety, concluded that the two methods of assigning homework were equally effective in terms of gains made in achievement tests.

Schminke (103) reports that there was no difference obtained on a current events test with the use of two approaches to the utilization of a weekly news magazine: a limited systematic approach characterized by use of the magazine alone and a supplemental systematic approach characterized by the use of the magazine and related activities. Results also indicated that, regardless of the method of instruction, a systematic presentation of current events can influence the students' use of news media outside of school.

Cristiani's experimentation (25) into the use of informal dramatizations in the sixth-grade social studies indicated that students gained on a Social Studies Information Test and on a modified Bogar-

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dus Social Distance Scale, and demonstrated greater interest and improved attitude toward the social studies all as a function of the use of dramatization.

Forster (39) reports that a significantly higher degree of learning took place as a result of field trips than occurred as a result of classroom activities; and Skov (115) reports that when an elementary school program is structured to promote social learning for democratic behavior, the quantity of learned factual information seems to exceed normal expectancy as judged by standardized test norms, while also resulting in many useful social learnings for democratic behavior.

Lux (65) in his comparison of the teaching methods used by superior and non-superior social studies teachers found that both used the same methods and activities but to different extents, the former making more use of outside readings, oral reports, research papers, and a topical approach, and the latter making more use of surveys, community projects, and a chronological approach.

By following the principle that the sophisticated techniques of today's social scientists can serve the teaching of the social studies, Coleman (87, 90) has initiated research that suggests a significant new approach to the methods of social studies instruction. The use of game theory, in conjunction with the techniques of simulation, in which a model is used to reduce a complex construct to a manageable one, has been the basis of Coleman's present research at the secondary level. The research consists of the development of games, and the experimentation and testing of the games in schools in order to ascertain their effect on individual students' motivation, on comprehension of game roles and knowledge of game content, and on the values of the teenage culture relating to scholastic effort. The use of games is an attempt (1) to bring the future into the present, permitting students to play roles in a setting to which they would not be exposed until adulthood, (2) to act as motivating devices, and (3) to eliminate the teacher as the judge since the games themselves are self-judging, the outcome determining one's success. Two general categories of games are planned, socio-economic games and games of scientific discovery, but only one particular game has been investigated experimentally. In an exploratory study, Boocock (14) studied the effects of a presidential campaign game designed by Coleman. The students were given a game *Handbook* and split into teams of "campaign managers" whose functions were to conduct polls, allocate funds, analyze views of voters in their districts, decide what issues their candidates should take a stand on, and plot strategy. The campaign results were refereed by a computer which provided the "simulated environment." It was programmed with the actual views and voting intentions of Joe Balli-

more residents sampled during the 1960 campaign. Evaluation of this exploratory game session in the form of observations and questionnaires administered to all participants indicated that the major effects of the game lay in the area of changed attitudes and interests rather than learning of specific factual information. In addition to other findings of this first study, the finding that the game presently is not an effective teaching device is to be given special attention in future experimentation.

In a college political science course in National Security Policy, Brooks² has introduced a 10-day sequence of "war games" to give students the experience of making decisions under the pressure of time with incomplete information. One of the two sections of this course assumed the roles and functions of the chief military and civilian decision makers for the United States, while the other assumed comparable roles for the U.S.S.R. in a given problem. Although Brooks made no rigorous evaluation of the "war games," they represent one attempt at game construction without the use of computers, which are of limited availability to teachers and which require highly specialized knowledge of programing.

Development of critical thinking and work-study skills. Although a statement of social studies objectives that does not include reference to the development of critical thinking is rare, the teaching of critical thinking proves to be one of the more difficult tasks of the social studies teacher. Fox (41), using a questionnaire administered to teachers of Problems of Democracy courses, found that the methods for developing the higher levels of critical thinking were most difficult for teachers to employ successfully, while those concerning simple information gathering were least difficult. In addition, nearly 10 percent of the teachers said that they did not have sufficient time to teach the skills of critical thinking. That the more experienced teachers found reasoning and logical skills more difficult to teach than the less experienced teachers was interpreted by Fox as a trend in teacher education towards developing effective teachers of critical thinking.

Suchman (120) has attempted to develop the skills of scientific inquiry in elementary school children through the use of motion pictures and verbal "experimentation." The Illinois Studies in Inquiry Training, of which Suchman is director, has experimented with the teaching of strategies and tactics of scientific inquiry to children who learn to apply them in question-and-answer investigations. The objective of inquiry training, originally designed to supple-

² More information on the "war games" can be obtained from Professor Glenn E. Brooks, Department of Political Science, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

ment science classroom activities, is to make pupils more independent, systematic, empirical, and inductive in their problem solving, and to give them a plan of operation that will help them to discover causal factors of physical change through their own initiative and not through the teacher's explanation and interpretation. The strategy of inquiry involves a three-stage plan to guide the students' investigations: (1) episode analysis involves the identification, verification, and measurement of the parameters; (2) determination of relevance involves the identification of conditions necessary and sufficient to produce the events of the episode; (3) education of relations involves the formulation and testing of hypotheses that express the relationships among the parameters of the observed event. Suchman's results indicated that inquiry training and opportunities to attain new concepts through inquiry seem to produce increments in the understanding of content as well as a grasp of the scientific method and proficiency in its use.

Suchman's earlier work provides the context of his present research in the transferability of inquiry training to different problem areas. In particular, Suchman intends to measure how effectively sixth-grade children who have been given inquiry training can transfer this form of investigation to the search for new concepts in the physical, life, and social sciences. In the area of the social sciences, problems of macro-economics and political science will be the focus of attention, and films are being made depicting examples of changing economic and political conditions.

In a similar approach, Arnsdorf (7) attempted to study the effectiveness of using map-overlays of the U.S. in an "inquiry-discovery" approach to teaching map-reading skills and geographic understanding with fifth graders. In endeavoring to increase students' ability to read and interpret maps, and to comprehend the relationships between physical, biotic, and cultural phenomena, the inquiry-discovery approach facilitates the exploration of these relationships through questions and hypotheses. Arnsdorf concluded on the basis of gains in scores on several standardized tests that in spite of marked differences in abilities involved in reading and interpreting maps, the inquiry-discovery approach with map-overlays did contribute to growth in work-study skills and to interest in maps and geography. Connors (22) found a significantly high correlation between the ability to solve physical geographic problems and geographic achievement as measured by standardized tests.

A considerable amount of research, McGarry (73), Rothstein (98), Wickman (126), and Wallen *et al* (125), has involved defining the optimum conditions for the teaching of critical thinking. Cousins (23), Cox (24), Elsmere (33), and Massialas (74) have

set their investigations of critical thinking against the background of our contemporary society and the value decisions demanded of each individual in the society. The primary concern of these four investigations was the matter of "intelligent choice, how it is attained, and in what ways the teacher can contribute to it." In particular, Cox and Massialas experimented with "inquiry-directed processes" in teaching U.S. history and world history, respectively. Each study involved a control group, a highly structured teacher-centered class, and an experimental group, a less structured inquiry-oriented class. The use of standardized instruments, tapes, and a log of daily activities (the last of which proved a most valuable source of insight into teaching and learning) indicated a comparable or superior performance for the students in the experimental group compared to those in the control group. The former learned as many facts, indicating that the inquiry-centered approach does not lessen the learning of this kind of material. The skills of critical thinking, as defined by Massialas in his model of critical thinking, were identifiable to a greater extent among the students of the inquiry-oriented situation than among those in the more structured situation. Finally the former were less teacher-oriented at the end of the 18-week experiment, having reached the point where they could provide themselves with appropriate cues for inquiry, whereas the latter remained teacher-oriented throughout the course of the experiment, with the teacher providing cues for subsequent discussion.

Cousins experimented with an eighth-grade social studies class in which he introduced a carefully defined model of critical thinking, the intention being to review and revise the model in line with the results. His teaching methods and results are similar to those of Cox and Massialas. On the basis of his results, Cousins has proposed a revised model of the development of critical thinking that includes the activities of generalization, deduction, problem-solving, and sensitivity to values, which he holds as an accurate representation of the intellectual development that occurred in his experimental group and would occur in other eighth-grade social studies classes in which similar teaching methods are used. Elsmere's study was designed to examine the effectiveness of the problem-solving approach in aiding students in the acquisition and retention of historical facts and in the acquisition and retention of problem-solving skills. Using methods similar to those of the previous investigations, the experimental group made statistically significant gains over the control group on all measures. Elsmere's particular contribution to this group of investigations was in the systematic preparation of objective and subjective tests for use in comparing educational outcomes.

Another area of critical thinking has been the ex-

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amination of critical thinking in relation to dogmatism. Ehrlich and Kemp have used Rokeach's investigations of open-closed belief systems as a basis for their own studies. Rokeach's concept of dogmatism is that of (1) a relatively closed cognitive organization of beliefs and disbeliefs about reality, (2) organized around a central set of beliefs about absolute authority, which in turn (3) provides a framework for patterns of intolerance and qualified tolerance toward others, (95). Those high in dogmatism presumably have closed systems while those low in dogmatism presumably have open systems.

Using a college sociology class, Ehrlich (32) found an inverse relationship between dogmatism and degree of learning. Kemp's findings (56, 57) indicated that those college freshmen who were low in dogmatism as determined by Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale, were more successful in a test of critical thinking than those high in dogmatism. The latter had a higher percentage of errors in those problems which required the study of several factors for decision and the deferring of a conclusion until each factor had been carefully examined and evaluated. Kemp hypothesizes that the individual high in dogmatism has difficulty in tolerating ambiguities, and is impelled toward a "closure" before full consideration is given to each piece of evidence. Kemp's second study (58) compared the improvement in critical thinking of those low in dogmatism with those high, the hypothesis being that the former would show greater improvement in this area than the latter. The experimental group received special instruction in solving critical-thinking problems. The findings indicated that within the control group there was no significant improvement in performance of either those high or low in dogmatism, whereas in the experimental group both the highs and the lows improved. On the basis of these two studies, Kemp concludes that those classroom conditions that are favorable to improvement of critical thinking are small permissive or "safe" groups in which the usual threats are minimized, and in which the attention given to critical thinking is accompanied by practice.

The objectives of the Cornell Project, Critical Thinking Readiness in Grades 1-12 (34) have been: (1) to answer the readiness question; namely, what are students capable of learning regarding various aspects of critical thinking, and in what grade; (2) to develop instruments for the measure of the two aspects with which this project is particularly concerned, deduction and assumption-finding; and (3) to test the various assumptions upon which the study is based. The emphasis of this current project is less on how to teach critical thinking, and more on what and when children can be taught. To this end, Ennis and Millman (35, 36) have been responsible for the construction of five critical thinking tests, two of

which are general, and three of which are specific to deduction.

Witt's studies (129, 130) investigated the effectiveness of certain techniques of reading instruction on developing critical thinking, reading skills, and conceptualization of social studies content. The studies, one with an average group, and one with an above average group of junior high school students, indicated that: (1) specific skills and techniques stressed in reading; namely, organization through outlining and drawing conclusions from factual materials, relate to social studies achievement, and bring about measureable gains in reading; and (2) the concept approach to the teaching of social studies, focusing on the development of such concepts as health, world interdependence, natural resources, self-government, etc., is a desirable method by which critical thinking can be developed.

Scott (104) found that a gain in reading achievement correlated highest with a gain in social studies and lowest with a gain in science among sixth graders. In particular, the correlation between reading achievement and social studies achievement was high for a low ability group and low for a high ability group which Scott partially attributes to the fact that the social studies test materials may not have been appropriate for the high ability group. In correlating several measures with current affairs knowledge, Kravitz (60) found reading achievement and social studies achievement to have the highest correlations with the amount of knowledge seventh and eighth graders have of current affairs.

B. Othanel Smith feels that "teaching behavior itself must be thoroughly understood from a logical standpoint as a condition for effective work on the improvement of critical thinking in the classroom." To this end, he has made an analytic and descriptive study of teaching behavior (116) and has arrived at a description of the logical structure of classroom discourse in which he defines two aspects in the analysis of teaching behavior: the tactical or logical operations, the forms verbal behavior takes as the teacher shapes the subject matter in the course of instruction, and the strategic operations, the larger movements within which the logical operations are performed. Smith's study of teaching strategies is still only in the formative stage. On the other hand, his study of teaching behavior from a logical standpoint has enabled him to arrive at one major unit of discourse, the episode, which can be characterized as one of several logical operations, such as definitions, designation, classification, comparing and contrasting, conditional inferring, explanation, evaluation, and opinion, etc. One tentative conclusion of his study is that differences may exist in the extent to which the logical operations are employed from teacher to teacher and area to area.

Taba's study (121), on the other hand, concerns thought processes and teaching strategies in elementary school social studies. The main objectives of the study are: (1) to examine the development of thought processes under optimal conditions, i.e., the twin impact of a curriculum and specified teaching methods explicitly designed to foster production and autonomous thought; (2) to develop categories of grouping thought processes that can be translated into teaching strategies; and (3) to study the cumulative effect of training for productive thought.

In evaluation, Taba has made use of a multidimensional analysis of taped classroom transactions which permits evaluation of the impact of teacher behavior in terms of its productivity regarding the logical quality of student responses, permits studying the cumulative impact of certain patterns or combinations of acts, and finally permits the examination of the effect of teaching strategies in terms of a measurable change in levels of thinking. Preliminary analysis of taped classroom discussions has revealed an enormous influence of teacher behavior on the thinking of students; it also seems clear that the level of thinking attained is influenced not only by the nature of the teacher act just preceding the responses, but by the whole pattern of transactions.

Teaching of controversial issues. Oliver and Shaver (81) undertook the construction of an experimental curriculum based on the analysis of public controversy in which they were concerned with many of the major issues of education: selection of curriculum content, development of instructional methods and materials, development of measures and methods of evaluation. This was preliminary to a two-year study in which they investigated the experimental curriculum, the effectiveness of various teaching styles, and interactions between teaching styles and student personalities. Oliver and Shaver are concerned with the areas of pluralism in our society—ethnic, economic, etc.—and the common standards necessary for the debate of public issues. In light of this position, they suggest two approaches for the social studies: (1) exposing students to public problems in our society, and (2) teaching students to analyze such problems within the framework of Western political and social values. It is within this framework that Oliver and Shaver were able to select specific materials of instruction, in the form of case studies, to teach ethical, governmental, and analytic concepts for dealing with societal controversy. The units of the curriculum include Critical Thinking, Birth of the American Republic, Introduction to the Structure and Principles of American Government, Application of Analytic and Political Concepts Using Specific Controversial Cases, and such problem units as School Desegregation, the American Indian, Fair

Competition and Business Monopoly, Organized Labor, and the New Deal.

Oliver and Shaver's major experiment studied the extent to which this experimental curriculum had a differential effect on 125 junior high students over a two year period. The main results indicated that students are capable of learning an abstract analytical system and can apply it to relatively simple cases based on political and social issues; students do not suffer any relative loss of historical knowledge with the emphasis on contemporary issues; and students are inclined to show greater interest in public issues as a function of the curriculum. Oliver and Shaver considered the extent to which two different teaching styles, recitation and Socratic teaching, are effective in attaining the objectives of the study. Research into this area indicated that (1) teachers were able to control their behavior so as to follow either the Socratic or recitation model at will, and (2) groups taught by the two styles behave in similar ways on all measures of learning administered.

The final aspect of this study dealt with the extent to which attributes of personality might be related to the students' ability to do analytic thinking about controversial issues. The major findings served to point out the importance of two factors: the gradient of transferability of five measures designed by Oliver and Shaver to assess the degrees to which a student could abstract what he had learned and use it in less similar situations; and the interaction between student personality and teaching styles.

Coan's study (21) revealed positive attitudes of social studies teachers and parents of Kansas high school students regarding the inclusion of controversial issues in the social studies curriculum. Lunstrum's research (64) resulted in a set of functional specifications to provide a definition of the proper role of the social studies teacher in the utilization of controversial issues: (1) recognition that the social role of education requires the transmission of the cultural heritage; (2) frequent and planned use of controversial issues in social studies curriculum with emphasis on these aspects now closed to objective inquiry; (3) formulation by the community of a policy governing the treatment of controversial issues; and (4) freedom of the teachers and community from the demands of pressure groups. In regard to the last point, Selakovich (107) has examined the techniques of certain pressure groups attempting to influence the teaching of American history and government.

It is believed by Rogers and Burnes (92) that since the Supreme Court decisions on religion in the public schools, there has still been a degree of informal religious instruction in the classroom. Examination of a Classroom Problems Test given to a number of elementary school teachers indicated that over 45 percent of the teachers responded with

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answers that were clearly religious in nature to hypothetical problem situations.

Teaching materials and aids. A number of recent studies have been concerned with the evaluation of textbooks. The results of Gill's research (44, 45) indicate that the use of indefinite time expressions convey different meanings to pupils. Higher grade levels demonstrate a superior grasp of the meaning of such expressions, which would tend to confirm the supposition that a time sense and maturity are closely related. The use of qualitative terms elicited a wide range of responses from eighth graders. Gill interprets these results as indicating the degree to which textbooks communicate nebulous and erroneous information to a large number of students, and he suggests replacing indefinite terms with precise expressions, as well as having teachers develop points of reference or meaningful boundaries to interpret these indefinite terms.

Arnsdorf reports (6, 8), on the other hand, that neither the number of indefinite space terms or time terms correlates with the difficulty or readability of a book. In elementary social studies materials, for every definite time and space term, there are about four indefinite time and nine indefinite space terms. Oddly, the rewriting of basal social studies materials in order to reduce or eliminate indefinite expressions has little effect upon intermediate-grade children's understanding of social studies materials.

On the basis of his examination of nine sixth-grade social studies textbooks Allunas (2) found the sixth-grade social studies content to be "too jammed" with names, terms and places that are often esoteric for this grade level, and that would not be too familiar to the average adult. Haffner's data (48) similarly indicate that fifth- and sixth-grade social studies textbooks contain excessive vocabulary loads and concept burdens.

Dimitroff's examination of 30 social studies textbooks (29) used in the intermediate grades on the basis of 15 social studies generalizations judged important by scholars, indicated that the treatment of the 15 generalizations is uneven, and is inadequate in 27 of the textbooks.

The Anthropology Curriculum Study Project has initiated two investigations. Sady (101), in an effort to discover how anthropology can contribute to teaching of secondary school courses in world history, assessed five world history textbooks in terms of their scope, the use of anthropological concepts and anthropological data, and the stimulation of critical thinking. It would seem that the majority of the textbooks look at the world narrowly, with little concern for those times and areas that seem unconnected to Western civilization; none of the textbooks makes an attempt to explore culture as an idea beyond defin-

ing it, while most of the textbooks exhibit ethnocentrism; inaccurate and inadequate data from the field of anthropology appear in all textbooks especially in the making of group identifications; most textbooks are only partly successful in stimulating critical thinking since they fail to achieve a comparative approach to a cross-section of world cultures. Similarly, Brown (15) studied and evaluated articles of anthropological relevance in four encyclopedias chosen on the basis of their general adequacy and availability to high school students. One of the major drawbacks in all of the encyclopedias is that many articles are quickly outdated. Other drawbacks were biases, ethnocentrism, etc., in various articles.

Palmer (83) examined 27 high school history textbooks in an attempt to determine how social change is explained in the texts, and the degree to which they contributed to an understanding of social change. He rated only five books as contributing to an understanding of the process of social change. Eleven were judged to contribute little if anything. Palmer concludes that textbooks are being used which take note of a great many instances of change, but offer little assistance toward an understanding of these changes.

Kennedy (59) recommends, on the basis of his survey of the treatment of Moslem nations, India, and Israel, in United States elementary and junior high school social studies textbooks, that more attention be given to the modern aspects, e.g., education, health, art, literature, etc., of these nations, as opposed to the more "quaint."

Wagner and Nixon (124) surveyed the extent to which basic reference materials in economics are currently available in high school libraries, and the frequency with which they are used. It was observed that though over half of the schools in the survey, all of which were in Illinois, offered courses in economics, the school libraries were quite deficient in terms of basic reference materials in economics. Moreover, faculty and students failed to make any significant use of the available materials. It is concluded, therefore, that these courses provide students with only a limited contact with the realities of the operating economy.

Experimentation in programed learning in the social studies appears to have been quite scanty. In an attempt to write a program to be used by those students wishing to fill in gaps in their knowledge of American Government, Shafer (110) constructed a 90-item program on "How a Bill Is Passed" for the use of an above average eighth-grade class. The results of the program indicate that social studies content lends itself to programing, though considerable experimentation is needed. Sierles (113) has approached the teaching of economics to slow learners through an adaptation of the basic principles of

graded steps as used in programmed instruction.

Overbeck's study (82) dealt with the best procedures for developing a community story for the third and fourth grades. Seeking information and suggestions from various sources, she was able to prepare and write a community story, and to evaluate the same from written evaluations of students and teachers. Her findings generally indicated that children were interested in the customs and life of different times, and that use of illustrations, explanation of words in context, and development of the concept of time span were all of importance in helping the children to comprehend the subject matter.

Fortress (40) studied the use of American paintings as "documentary records" in the social studies for the middle grades and found them to be effective in promoting problem solving, and insight into human relations and into the continuity of human experience.

Halsey (49) reports the first stages of an attempt to develop materials for an eleventh-grade United States history course designed to make maximum use of original sources. The units are presently being given a year's trial in 15 schools.

Job (54) surveyed a group of 494 entering junior high students with the Mooney Problem Check List, a personality test which helps students to express personal problems. The junior high school form of the test yields scores on such variables as health and physical development, school, home and family, boy and girl relations, etc. On the basis of his survey, Job was able to develop activities to be included in a social studies resource unit for the purpose of alleviating the adjustment problems resulting in the transition from elementary to junior high school.

Activities and projects. Projects are often designed to provide students, through direct experience, with a better grasp of public issues than they would normally receive in the classroom. Patterson (85) describes a six-week summer pilot program for beginning twelfth graders which involved (1) intensive study of such "socio-civic" areas as community, race, culture, and war and peace; (2) study of representative problems of the students' own community based on data collected by the students; (3) performance of needed work service in the community; and (4) planning and management of the summer program. Blank, *et al.* (13) reports on another action project in which Hunter College undergraduates planned, conducted, and evaluated a study of political activities in the New York City community. The main operations consisted of devising a questionnaire, administering it to a properly selected sample of county committeemen, and coding and analyzing the data collected. The results of both experiments, as evaluated by the participants, indicated a greater interest

and concern with public affairs, as well as a more solid grasp of the issues studied by each group.

Attitudes and values. Scovel (105) devised a questionnaire for high school students and adults to survey their knowledge of civil rights and their attitudes on related social, economic, and political problems. The items, in the form of actual and hypothetical case studies, represented violations of the first six amendments in the Bill of Rights, and the respondent was asked to agree or disagree with the actions taken. Results indicated that 39 percent of the students and 46 percent of the adults agreed, while 53 percent of the students and 49 percent of the adults disagreed. (The remainder expressed no opinion.) Scovel discusses the implications of his findings for the teacher, since the views expressed by the adults, most of whom attended college, would seem to represent a degree of failure in the attainment of certain educational objectives. Scovel suggests the need for study of the Bill of Rights with the use of case studies, and for the creation of a favorable discussion climate in the classroom. On the basis of their experimentation, Parker and Econopoulou (84) also advocate the use of case histories as an aid in bridging the gap between the principles in the Bill of Rights and practices in the local community. Scovel is in the initial stages of a survey in Iowa schools of instruction on political parties, their functions, practices, and role in American society. He will survey, among other things, student and adult impressions of politics and politicians, and political party leaders' attitudes regarding participation of teachers in political party organizations.

Willis (128) did a follow-up study of 51 graduates in 1938 of a school committed to a democratic philosophy. The data indicated that those aspects of democratic behavior which they practiced in high school were the ones which have carried over most effectively into adult life. Things they learned about only verbally do not seem to have had nearly the same influence on their adult behavior. The author concludes that what is learned cannot be separated from how it is learned, and that learning which is purely verbal is likely to remain so.

Wilkey (127) studied the changes in student opinions about government economic policy following a public finance course. He interprets his findings as evidence that student opinions change as facts become known. Assman (9) studied the knowledge and attitudes toward America of sixteen hundred German students in grades 7 through 10. Her results indicate that most of these children regard jazz as an American contribution to the civilization of the world. At the same time, many mentioned the air lift to Berlin and the Marshall Plan even though all were too young to remember them in fact. Most

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of these students are aware of racial problems in the United States, and of the South as the cotton center of America (which Assman attributes to the German translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*).

In an attempt to see at what age level children appear to become concerned about distant peoples as well as those in the immediate environment, Rogers and Long (94) gave to 150 children in grades 2, 4, and 6 a "Who Shall We Help?" test in which each child was to choose one of two situations to which to donate his imaginary \$10.00, (e.g., to homeless citizens of Minnesota after a flood, or to homeless people in India after a storm). The test compared local with national, local with international, and national with international situations. Results indicated that second graders showed mild concern for distant peoples in distress, choosing to help them 55 percent of the time, while fourth and sixth graders demonstrated overwhelming willingness to help distant peoples, choosing to help them 75 percent of the time.

Frymier (42) examined teachers' estimates of adolescents' responses to items of the F-scale, a measure of anti-democratic potential, in an effort to determine how accurately teachers can predict high school students' feelings on a variety of issues. The teachers were able to make reasonable estimates of the students' responses on half of the items, but they incorrectly estimated responses to the other half. It would thus seem that experienced teachers do no better in estimating these responses than persons who have had no teaching experience. On the basis of these results, Frymier poses certain problems for further study.

Vincent Rogers of the University of Minnesota is presently studying children's conceptions of the status of the Negro in American society by having them suggest an occupation for each of ten slides of a man in a business suit, five of which picture a Negro and five of which picture a white. It is hoped to determine whether or not, despite the "professional appearance," children still assign stereotyped occupations to the Negro subjects.

MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION

The World Survey test was the result of Zobel's (132) attempt to construct a geography placement test which would give an indication of the geographic background of students enrolled in their first college geography course. The test appears to have some predictive validity for success in college level geography courses as well as concurrent validity, in that higher scores are obtained by those who have had previous college geography and high school social science courses.

Selakovich (106) found no significance in the end-of-course achievement test scores of two American

Government college classes, one of which was given frequent tests during the course and the other of which was tested only three times during the semester. Sewell (109) has developed an instrument for the evaluation of attitudes and understandings of students taking high school economics. The instrument, comprising 20 items for evaluating liberal-conservative attitudes, and 34 items on economic understandings, was found to be satisfactory for evaluation of groups but not individuals.

Simpson (114) reports on a survey of the self-evaluation procedures of 608 social science instructors conducted by the Subcommittee on the Improvement of Instruction of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education. The survey seemed to indicate that the use of self-evaluation procedures among social science instructors is widespread; there is a desire to try procedures with which they are unfamiliar, though lack of knowledge of how to go about self-evaluation is a restraining factor; the successful use of self-evaluation procedures and the urge to try new procedures varies with the subject matter field, social science rating somewhat below average when compared with ratings in other fields. The procedure used by most social science instructors was a comparative check on their efficiency in using one teaching method versus efficiency in using another while the procedure found to be of least value was the open-ended, written evaluation by students. Spoliar's study (119) indicated that students who had had a Basic Social Science course were able to transfer certain social science concepts taught in the course of the immediate campus culture.

In a new approach to the evaluation of attitudes, Cadenhead (17) has considered the concept of psychological probability, defined as an individual's perception of mathematical probability, in terms of public opinion polls and their applicability in determining policy. An initial research project using problems with definite mathematical answers indicated that students tend to underestimate high probability events and overestimate low probability events. The primary research developed around the administration of a list of ten possibilities relating to American foreign and domestic policy (e.g., the outbreak of World War III) to college students. They were instructed to give their estimate of the probability of the events occurring within their lifetimes. Cadenhead interprets the results of this test as demonstrating that there are areas where the public may be expected to show more or less concern than would be expected on the basis of their "true" feelings.

Burr (16) concludes on the basis of his study of visually presented tests that either silent or audio-reinforced achievement testing will produce results comparable to paper-and-pencil testing, for either traditionally instructed or television instructed

groups, and, furthermore, that it utilize less time.

Rust, *et al.*, (100) report the results of a factor analysis performed on three tests of critical thinking: Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal, A Test of Critical Thinking by the American Council on Education and A Test on Principles of Critical Thinking. In summary, the tests had low intercorrelations, and three factors emerged: General Reasoning, Logical Discriminating or Application of Logical Principles, and Semantics or Verbal Understanding. Rust, *et al.*, conclude that grouping items affects the apparent factor content of a test.

THE EXCEPTIONAL STUDENT

Few studies appear to have been concerned particularly with teaching social studies to the exceptional child.

In Taba's research (121) on thought processes and teaching strategies, she hypothesizes that many slow learners may be able to achieve a high level of abstract thought, provided they have the opportunity to examine a greater number of concrete instances than the teaching process now allows. In particular, teaching strategies that are scientifically designed for the development of cognitive skills may make it possible to develop such skills at a higher level in a greater number of students than is the case as of the present time.

The Baltimore County School System's examination of the problems of the slow learner (89) resulted in the following recommendations for the education of the slow learner in the social studies: (1) the curriculum should center about the home, school, and community, and should utilize demonstrations, films, and trips; (2) throughout the grades the slow-learning pupil should receive planned social and cultural experiences that will equip him to function at

an increasing level of effectiveness within the community; (3) the use of a single text and short concrete units is recommended; (4) immediate, exciting, and real are the basic characteristics of appropriate instructional material for the slow learner. Out of this study has come a basic program in world history for the slow learners (131).

One approach in teaching social studies to the slow learner has been to present material in series of small discrete steps accompanied by frequent reinforcement. Hoke (50) and Sierles (113) both followed such a pattern in teaching American history and economics, respectively, to slow learners, but neither conducted any systematic evaluation of their approach.

The Bridge Project (31), a study of how to improve the preparation of teachers for teaching in underprivileged areas, has not been particularly concerned with the social studies, but it has found the use of literature concerned with Negro history to be successful, though there has been no evaluation of student achievement as a result of such use.

Bidna's study (12) of existing and recommended programs in the social studies for the academically talented high school student was mainly a survey of various characteristics of such programs. He concluded that there is a need for such programs in the social studies for academically talented students, and that existing programs result in a better learning atmosphere.

Ebeling's effort to prepare instructional materials in the social studies (30) that would challenge the superior students in a regular fifth-grade classroom indicated that these students were challenged by the materials, and that the availability of the materials functioned as a method of "self-selection" of the superior.

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RESEARCH REVIEW TEN

The following article, pages 205 through 228, was originally published as Richard E. Gross and William V. Badger, *Social Studies* in Chester W. Harris, editor, *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, Third Edition, New York: American Educational Research Association/The Macmillan Company, 1960, 1296-1319. It is reproduced with permission of the authors and publishers.

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edition of the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (45, 147). Much of the material referred to there is not repeated in this article. Those seeking information on earlier studies should also see the pertinent issues of the *Review of Educational Research*.

Wesley (258, p. 39) pioneered in drawing the distinction between the social studies and the social sciences. The social sciences are scholarly and advanced studies of human relationships. The social scientist is concerned with experimentation, research, and discovery to widen the frontiers of knowledge about man and his relationships with other men and with his environment. The social studies comprise a portion of the school curriculum wherein the content, findings, and methods of the social sciences are simplified and reorganized for instructional purposes. Thus, the social studies are those studies that provide understandings of man's ways of living, of the basic needs of man, of the activities in which he engages to meet his needs, and of the institutions he has developed. Briefly, the social studies are concerned with man and his relationship to his social and physical environments.

Neither the social sciences nor the social studies have rigidly set boundaries. They change and expand with altered emphases in human activities and cultural institutions. In recent years, the Library of Congress has listed the following headings under the general classification of social sciences: anthropology, economics, education, geography, history, law, political science, regionalism, and sociology. In 1930 the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (226) listed 11 social and quasi-social sciences. In addition to those listed by the Library of Congress, psychology, criminology, and philosophy, as well as religion, are sometimes included as social sciences. Often referred to as separate social sciences are branches of some of the older disciplines, such as ethnology which has sprung from anthropology, and demography which has evolved from the application of statistics to sociological data. Social scientists even differ among themselves as to the categorization. Some claim history belongs in the category of humanities, and geographers primarily interested in physical geography may call themselves natural scientists. Certain psychologists and anthropologists designate only portions of their areas as social sciences and demand the use of a prefix such as "cultural" or "social" before the term *psychology* or *anthropology*. Disciplinary hybridization further complicates efforts to delimit the field; examples of this are the emergence of historical geography, geo-politics, economic geography, and industrial geography. Recent research practices in which teams of varied social scientists join together in a study make the designation of sub-areas of responsibility within the field all the more difficult (90, 152).

A similar problem of delimitation occurs in the field of the social studies. Although courses usually carry the same titles as the parent social sciences, there is a longer history of broad-field integration among the social studies than is true for the social sciences. An exception to the use of common titles

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The term *social studies* as used throughout this article means, briefly, consonant portions of the social sciences selected for learning. Since every phase of educational activity has its human-relations implications, certain aspects of social studies are dealt with in other articles. For example, aspects of education dealing with citizenship and economic education are treated under CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION and ECONOMIC EDUCATION. The reader is also referred to the entries on SOCIAL STUDIES and GEOGRAPHY in the previous

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exists in the area of government or civics; these terms are used almost universally in the lower schools in place of political science. A further problem in establishing boundaries for the social studies exists at elementary-school levels and in some junior high schools where the social studies are correlated or fused in units or lessons with subjects completely outside the field. Current proliferation of the social studies finds many diversified topics taught, and the titles of courses are not safe guides to their content. Civics courses, for example, may provide units on vocational guidance, driver education, health and safety, conservation, alcohol and narcotic education, and economic geography, as well as current events and the study of government! Newer courses such as social living, Far Eastern relations, seniors' problems, freshman orientation, and contemporary problems are probably further evidence that the two most common and traditional school offerings in the social area—history and geography—no longer serve to explain fully man and his increasingly complex relationships in his rapidly changing world, with its constantly broadening horizons.

A genesis of the social studies is found as far back as the schools of the grammarian and rhetorician in ancient Greece and Rome. Conceiving their subject broadly, they had their students read and orate concerning much of the important social literature of Greece and Rome. Thus, under some of the teachers of grammar, for example, much of what is now termed ethics, history, politics, and the social studies was included, as well as poetry, grammar, and literary criticism. Church leaders throughout the Middle Ages used history as a means of establishing doctrines of the church among men. Renaissance scholars urged that history be read as a means of training for ethical character. Biography has long been heralded as a vivid and concrete source of material for studying morals and manners of men. As the known world was expanded by Western man, he became increasingly interested in geography. This was further promoted by the developments of the commercial revolution. During the period of the rise of nation states, and then during the Reformation, there was an increased concern over national histories or histories which provided convincing arguments for various sects. An accompanying great increase in Bible reading probably further contributed to the growth of social emphases in the curriculum. At the same time a Spanish humanist, Vives, urged the study of history as one of the most important bases for a liberal education. Later educators such as Comenius, Weise, and Pestalozzi did much to promote the progress of the social studies in the curriculum, particularly in the elementary schools. Herbart also stressed the importance of history in the curriculum as a prime basis for character development. American schoolmen studied in Europe and returned to initiate the Herbartian movement. They also founded the National Herbartian Society, which became the National Society for the Study of Education. It is significant that the first two Yearbooks of the Society, issued in 1902 and 1903, were devoted to the teaching

of history and geography. Johnson (125) gives a more complete review of these backgrounds.

Courses in the field of the social studies actually played a minor role in American schools until the beginning of the twentieth century. This was more the case for elementary than for secondary schools. Generally, early Europeans in America did not study geography and history as school subjects, but, once the English colonies won their independence, textbooks published abroad were no longer adequate for new, national, educational needs; and history and geography, although introduced in pre-Revolutionary schools and academies, grew in popularity. Both general and United States history were included in the curriculum of the first American high school—successor to the Latin schools and academies—which was established in Boston in 1821. Six years later, Massachusetts required the teaching of United States history in all communities which contained more than five hundred families. This requirement probably marks the first attempt to prescribe courses by legislative edict, a procedure which was to become much more common. By 1860, some five states required the teaching of history in either high schools or elementary schools, or both. Materials pertaining to civil government were introduced at approximately the same time. Growth was slow, but history gradually became firmly established in the secondary schools and the two top grades of the elementary schools during the last third of the nineteenth century. Little change in this respect took place in the elementary grades between 1860 and 1900. The basic source for details of these developments is Tryon's 1935 volume (248). Cruikshank's recent study of the history of the evolution of the social studies from 1893 is probably the definitive work on the more recent period (59).

The present social studies programs are an outgrowth of a number of influences. Alilunas (4) has traced the social and psychological backgrounds of the development. Particularly important were the reports of various national organizations, the first of which was the Report of the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association, published in 1893. The Committee's recommendations were devoted largely to history as a subject, although they considered civil government and political economy as well. A specific program for grade placement was designed and the Committee made one of the earliest uses of the term *social studies*. It also made recommendations concerning geography. A more influential report which set the pattern for high-school history for more than a generation was made by the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association in 1899. The next important national report was made by the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education, in 1916. Three commonly adopted courses at the high-school level grew out of this report: (a) the one-year course in European or world history found prevalently in the tenth year, (b) the new course called "problems of democracy—social, economic, and political," and (c) the full-year course

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in American history. The seventeen-volume report of the Commission on the Social Studies sponsored by the American Historical Association appeared between 1932 and 1941. However, the 1916 report of the Committee on the Social Studies was a much more important influence in the determination of the secondary-school social-studies curriculum (100, Ch. V). Recent surveys (7, 128) reveal that the bulk of American high schools have programs largely reflecting the suggestions made approximately forty years before.

The period from 1920 to 1955 may well be designated "the age of the social studies" in the schools of the United States. In 1921 the National Council for the Social Studies was organized. In 1923 the twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education was devoted to social studies in the elementary and secondary school. In 1934 the magazine *Historical Outlook* changed its title to *The Social Studies*. During the same period, in a characteristic development, the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States was reorganized as the Middle States Council for the Social Studies. The 1936 Yearbook of the N.E.A. Department of Superintendence was entitled *The Social Studies Curriculum*. Thus, in a 20-year period a comparatively new area of the school curriculum came to be commonly accepted in the schools of the country. This is not a typical development in the history of education, but it reflects the urgent need for these learnings. There was opposition to the term *social studies*. Some traditionalists and those who believed that fundamental essentials would be lost in this amalgamation termed the field "social slush," certain historians interpreted the term to mean "diluted" history, and other critics feared an indoctrination of socialistic ideas. In spite of the criticisms, conditions in the nation favored the acceptance of the social studies. Concerns over the assimilation of immigrants and the minority groups, over patriotism, for the inculcation of citizenship, for the common social education of the masses—all stemming from two World Wars and a tragic economic depression—were basic motives for the developments of these years. In the elementary schools, social-studies lessons and units emerged as the "heart" of the curriculum.

OBJECTIVES. The aims of the social studies in general have undergone rather limited research. There has, however, been considerable inquiry concerning the aims of the various disciplines within the field; some of these will be referred to in the later discussion of curricular developments in each area, such as United States history, world history, and the like. The lack of research into objectives may reflect the manner in which social-studies objectives are arrived at. Seldom the result of any kind of research, they are generally products of value judgments reflecting social traditions and forces in this country.

Langston (151) in a study of the ideals of American organizations revealed an amazing extent of agreement about aims on the part of leaders of 118 national organizations with an interest in citizenship. The degree to which these hold implications for the

aims of the social studies is revealed by the headings used to organize the items: Family Relationships; Education; Religion; Government; Economic Life; Racial, Ethnic, and Religious Minorities; Health and Physical Well-being; Social Problem Solving; Personal Development; Legal Rights; and World Affairs. He concludes with a list of suggestions for the effective teaching of the American way. The import of social forces in determining social-studies aims, and thus the social-studies curriculum, has been further documented by doctoral studies of the history and evolution of social-studies curriculums in several of the states. These include those by Holland (115), Jones (127), McLean (166), and Young (272). Further evidence of the role of legislative requirements in establishing the objectives and program of the social studies in the United States has been thoroughly summarized by Keesecker (133). He treats the relationship of laws to curriculum making and lists all state laws requiring instruction in the social-studies field and the observation of special days in the public schools.

An examination of courses of study in the United States reveals considerable unanimity and a great overlapping of stated general objectives for most of the social-studies offerings. Carr and Wesley have organized one such general list (45, p. 1219). These commonly accepted aims for the field include:

1. To respect the rights and opinions of others
2. To be skillful in securing, sifting, evaluating, organizing, and presenting information
3. To assume social and civic responsibility
4. To act in accord with democratic principles and values
5. To become a judicious consumer
6. To understand principal economic, social, and political problems
7. To learn about vocational activities and opportunities
8. To understand the interdependence of peoples and groups
9. To become a happy member of a home
10. To make intelligent adjustment to change
11. To get along with individuals and groups
12. To use basic social-studies skills
13. To exercise critical judgment
14. To understand and promote social progress

There is some evidence that objectives of the social studies as stated, in spite of changing curricular offerings, have remained fairly fixed. In 1937 Barnes (19) included a rather complete survey of studies related to social-studies objectives in the Eighth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Gross (93), in 1953, found aims very consistent through the years but shifting in relative order of importance and thus reflecting changing emphases of theorists and textbook writers, as well as of classroom teachers. He also found objectives quite similar at various levels, such as state and local, and tritely uniform for different courses. There is a need for much greater differentiation and specificity of stated aims for the various social-studies courses. Reviews

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of lists of objectives also indicate: the virtue of concise and explicit statements, a realistically attainable number, behavioral statements comprehensible to the student and possible of evaluation (86). These aims are emphasized by Michaelis (174), who analyzed social-studies goals as stated in 44 courses of study.

A number of contributors have given estimates of "new viewpoints" in the teaching of the social studies (190). In a critical, comparative study of whether social-studies objectives can be accomplished with textbooks, Samford (218) analyzed such objectives as were found in current periodical literature, in state courses of study, in curriculum guides, and in methods books. His data indicate the areas in which fifty elementary-school and fifty secondary-school social-studies texts did or did not further the accomplishment of these aims. Bradfield (28) studied lists of stated objectives for the social studies in courses of study and found most aims to be content centered, a great disparity between stated aims and suggested learning activities, and a need for much more selectivity.

Reported research of social-science or social-studies objectives as related to general education has also been limited. This may reflect a continuing lack of agreement as to the purposes of general education. Carter (46) searched for the aims of general education for adolescents in building a course of study in the social studies for Englewood, New Jersey. In a study dealing with eighth-grade children, Brooks (31) attempted to develop an instrument for measuring knowledge of basic social education principles as they applied to life situations. He found that although the vast majority of the children possessed the knowledge of basic social education principles described by the National Council for the Social Studies, no significant difference in total test scores was shown for the three groups studied. Johnson (124, Ch. 9) used a normative method to examine the nature of general education in the social sciences and the problems of teaching the social studies. This analysis, although not directed explicitly to problems at the elementary-school level, has clear-cut implications for both elementary- and secondary-school teachers of social studies. Naftalin (186) effectively summarized the tasks of the social sciences in general education.

For those dissatisfied with available data and research on the aims of social-studies instruction, much can be deduced from the many reports and studies available on the social-studies curriculum or on various subject areas within the field. Some of these will be summarized in a following section. As has been indicated, objectives can be identified in the analysis of such diverse sources as social-studies textbooks, courses of study, methodology textbooks in the teaching of the social studies, state and local requirements, surveys of curricular offerings, and collections of unit aims. However, determination of the objectives really being sought and reached can come only from careful observation of classes. What these instructors do or do not provide for their students in the way of learning experiences, in the relative independence

and freedom of each individual classroom, establishes the functional objectives of the social studies. Those who see disparity between stated aims and aims seemingly emphasized or attained or omitted in practice must look first to the classroom mentor.

CURRICULUM. Second in importance only to the teacher is the type of curriculum organization. It is evident, therefore, why a great deal of study has been devoted to the social-studies curriculum and its various elements. Many surveys concerning scope and sequence, the selection of content, types of curriculums, and case situations have been conducted. It should be noted that often the general studies concerning curriculum, which are not reported in this article, are in part concerned with the social studies or hold implications for improving social-studies programs. The most recent specialized volume concerning problems related to the social-studies curriculum is the Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (75). This useful 1955 publication contains much material based upon recent research and records attempts at curriculum building for various levels, from the individual school to state programs. Although the volume does not help much with the question of what to teach, it does reveal the varied steps being taken by those concerned with this problem, as well as presenting recent curricular trends and the forces behind them.

Typical of the research in this area has been the survey of course offerings, requirements, and registrations. Some of these have been comprehensive, such as the History Inquiry of 1924. At that time Dawson (61) reported a number of trends revealed by the inquiry. These trends of 35 years ago give evidence of the slow rate of change characterizing, in particular, the secondary social-studies curriculum. Changes included: the reduction in ancient, medieval, and English history offerings; a slow increase in the number of world history courses; the transfer of American history from the twelfth to the eleventh grade; a mushrooming in the number of "problems" courses; the appearance in greater numbers of the "new civics" in the ninth grade; generally two or three years of required social studies in high school; growing combinations of broad-field or fused social-studies courses in the junior high years; a growth in the socialized discussion of current events; and a decline in formal government courses which were being absorbed in part by United States history but more so by the twelfth-grade problems course. A large-scale survey concerning offerings and registrations in the social studies for Grades VII to XII was completed by the U. S. Office of Education in 1947 (7). Almost five hundred representative public high schools made up the sample. Findings confirmed earlier studies and those of smaller or more restricted samples (170). Among the many outcomes was evidence of a great increase in the number of students taking United States history between 1933 and 1947. During this period, geography enrollments declined. Most students in Grades IX to XII took less than three years of social studies, but those in the seventh and eighth grades tended to schedule two years of

social studies, one of which was usually United States history. A more recent analysis of 107 large urban school systems conducted by Jones (128) in 1953 showed United States history to be the most commonly required course, with civics or government in second place. He noted a trend toward increasing the amount of social studies required of high-school students. A summary of social-studies programs in 53 nations was published by UNESCO in 1953 (251).

Kinsman (143) attempted to find basic methods of organizing social-studies curriculums and to discover underlying principles determining scope and sequence, as well as any representative pattern. He found the three most commonly advocated types of organization to be subject-centered, problem-centered, and experience units of work. He stated some organizing principles for the social studies, but he found no single representative pattern. Shellhammer and Browne (229) classified by period and type the major bases suggested for determining the scope and sequence of the social studies at elementary and secondary levels. The three factors identified as being most influential in determining scope and sequence in California are: (a) the state course of study, (b) legislative enactments, and (c) textbook adoptions. Plischke (202) also found increasing specific legislative and statutory control over the curriculum from 1941 to 1950. In his study of the role of resource units in curricular reorganization, Klohr (145) claimed that resource units developed by teachers were the most significant factor in bringing about curriculum revision.

Sand (210) attempted to analyze continuity and sequence in social-studies curriculums. He found more provisions for continuity than for sequence, with sequence organization being most common in the elementary school. His analysis led him to the conclusion that the considerable divergence in patterns results from local customs and traditions and from the personal preferences of the teachers. Bradfield's thorough analysis of 34 state courses of study or social-studies bulletins also reveals the primary need for an efficient sequence, particularly at the secondary level (28). He claimed two key needs to be greater agreement as to just what are the social studies, and definite standards for selecting, including, or rejecting instructional units. McAulay's analysis of social-studies curriculums (161) found many faults with the programs analyzed—lack of flexibility, lack of correlation, lack of pattern, out of date, and the like—as well as the disturbing fact that almost one half of the teachers contracted in the various school systems said that they seldom followed the prescribed social-studies program. Harap and Merritt's 1954 survey of curriculum guides led them to the conclusion that more and more social-studies courses are being organized in terms of large teaching units, with increasing attempts in the first six grades to base the program upon the expanding horizons of the learner, and that a greater proportion of social-studies learnings are being incorporated into "basic education," "social living," and "core" programs (104). Cummings' analysis of courses of study

in the social studies led him to identify five trends in such publications: increased emphasis on new and varied methods of implementation; the adoption of research findings; an emphasis upon group processes; the attempt to meet individualized personal needs; and increasing attention to improved evaluation (60). He contrasts early curriculum guides and those of more recent years. The former were written by specialists and experts, and were highly structured, complete, detailed, and directive. Since the thirties, courses of study have tended to be teacher-made and oriented; they are suggestive frameworks that are guides rather than prescriptions. He indicates that, except for a relatively few creative teachers, instructors have largely failed in their responsibilities under such conditions. This problem of organization *versus* freedom in the social-studies curriculum has not yet been solved.

Other helpful studies of the social-studies curriculum have been made at the state level (20, 102, 157, 213). In general, these surveys parallel the results of the broader national studies. They reveal the strong hand of tradition at the local and individual school level. Too many inadequately prepared teachers are instructing in the social-studies field, increasing numbers of students are enrolling in social-studies courses, current events are receiving increasing emphasis, geography is in decline as a separate subject, and there is a great pressure upon the established social studies from new areas such as personal adjustment, guidance, driver education, safety and health, and the like. Especially helpful to persons desiring to keep up with trends in the social-studies curriculum have been the recurring summary articles of key literature which have appeared in *Social Education* (83, 140, 167). The series of bulletins published by the National Council for the Social Studies in five separate volumes devoted to the segments from the primary grades to the college are particularly valuable in revealing the present status of social studies with detailed descriptions of selected school programs at each level (3, 123, 144, 249, 265). Representative school programs are also presented in most of the textbooks devoted to the teaching of the social studies (100, 175, 181, 206, 208, 258). There is much evidence that the social-studies curriculum has expanded considerably since 1920. Today, at secondary levels, student time devoted to social-studies courses is generally exceeded only by that given English and physical education.

Elementary-School Curriculum Patterns. In recent years social-studies lessons and units have occupied positions of central concern in the elementary curriculum. The Fifty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education gives evidence of the research which has led to this development (188). Hodgson (113), in his study of trends in the social studies in the elementary school, underscores the growth of integration of the social studies with other subjects in the study of areas or problems of living. Separate subject divisions, however, remain at most grade levels in approximately one third of the schools studied. He also noted a major emphasis in pro-

visions for the teaching of human relationships. He concluded that there was a great need for in-service education to assist teachers in using the newer methods as well as in fulfilling their responsibility in the implementation of integrated types of organization. Another recent survey of elementary-school programs was made by Bruns and Frazier (36). They concluded that in spite of minor differences in course sequence and grade placement of social-studies material a definite pattern of offerings seems to be emerging. The grade placement of each broad area of learning tends, in large-city school systems, to center around a single school grade, with only rare variations of more than one year above or below the central position. Cowan (58) attempted a historical study of sequence in which he traced various patterns and came out with guiding principles for the elementary curriculum in the social studies which are based upon current aspects of child development. Burress (39) attempted to delineate a desirable program of social studies for the middle grades. In addition to consulting experts and reviewing courses of study, he analyzed and reviewed forty research studies of particular significance for the selection of content in the middle grades. The Willcockson (265) and Klee (144) volumes in the NCSS curriculum series mentioned previously are also helpful in their suggestions for building social studies into elementary courses of study.

The following emphases are indicated as typical for social-studies learnings in each of the first six grades. In the first three grades, emphasis is generally upon home and school life in Grade I, upon community helpers in Grade II, and upon an extended knowledge of the community concept and ways of meeting basic human needs in Grade III. As the student grows and his interests develop, attention moves to new horizons to help him attain an understanding of the specialized, interdependent world of which he is a part. He studies the persons who serve him in the local and concentric communities; he becomes cognizant of the technological age in which he lives and of the intricate arrangements for the production and distribution of material goods which in his society he has known only as finished products. The elementary-school social-studies curriculum aims to provide learnings which once came as an integral part of the experiences of the child in his home and community in a predominantly agricultural era. Broadened understanding of other peoples and respect for their cultures are now also needed. In attempting to gain such social orientation, the social-studies experiences are often fused or correlated with those of other subject areas. Experiences in art, music, spelling, reading, arithmetic, and science are related to or built upon the social-studies offering in large units of work. These units may last a number of weeks, and often center on topics such as The Farm, Our Harbor, Carrying the Mail, The Pueblo Indians, The Oil Fields, People Who Help Clothe Us, Our Community, Our Neighbors Across the Border, and the like. At the fourth grade, history and geography are first introduced as such. The settlement and early

history of the state and region is a typical unit. Representative culture groups, both in the United States and in foreign lands, also are studied. At the fifth grade American history usually is emphasized. Often the approach is biographical, and attention centers upon the early periods of our national history. In this connection, teachers have often been criticized for teaching more mythology than actual history. At this grade level the student is introduced to the first of what is frequently three or four cycles of United States history that are commonly included in the curriculum between the fourth and the fourteenth grades. Great variety is found at Grade VI, but the program is generally devoted to the consideration of other regions and countries of the world. Some economic understandings and some simple sociological facts are included by some instructors, but the major emphasis is upon geography and history.

Secondary-School Curriculum Patterns. At the secondary level a great variety exists in social-studies programs at each grade, not only among different states but even within the same school district. There is, however, a most frequently offered course or program which can be identified at each grade level. Although Grades VII and VIII are often regarded as the last two years of elementary education, they are here considered as the beginning of the secondary program. In Grade VII courses are devoted primarily to historical and geographical consideration of other regions and countries of the world, generally broken into eastern and western hemispheres, the one selected depending upon the sixth-grade emphasis. State history, orientation to junior high school, and European backgrounds to the coming American history course are other common courses. In Grade VIII the student usually is introduced to his second course in American history. There is greater unanimity throughout the United States on the desirability of this eighth-grade offering than is true of any other social-studies course or emphasis at any other grade level. In Grade IX the social-studies course is commonly entitled Civics; as was pointed out above, a great variety of topics to be included exists here, ranging from government to vocations and boy-girl relationships. Although some teachers still stress the Constitution of the United States, increasing numbers seem to be giving more attention to citizenship problems in the local community. In most schools world history is the standard course in Grade X. This course is a condensation of what, until about 1930, was two or three years of ancient, medieval, and modern history. World history has not proved popular, and the number of schools requiring it in recent years has declined. In the eleventh grade the student usually studies United States history for the third time. Students often react against this course because it differs little from the eighth-grade offering. However, state laws and regulations require United States history in the high schools of all 48 states. The twelfth-grade social-studies offering includes senior problems or problems of democracy, government, sociology, world geography, international affairs, and psychology. Only a minority of high schools in the United States require

the student to take a social-studies course in each of his years in school.

HISTORY. Ancient and general history have been offered since the late 1700's; American history was seldom offered before the 1870's. From the time history was first introduced in the high-school curriculum up to the publication of the Report of the Committee on Social Studies in 1916, history courses were largely devoted to political and military history and to discoveries and explorations, and the presentation was almost always in chronological and topical form. It was not until after World War I that new topics and trends were discernible. After 1918 the amount of time devoted to ancient history was reduced, and one-year courses in world history were offered more frequently. More time was devoted to American history, and more textbooks enlarged the space devoted to cultural and economic aspects of history. By 1925 some schools were experimenting with different types of fusion courses. By 1930, as national committees no longer dominated the curriculum, variations increased, and fusion or unified courses increased in frequency, particularly at the junior high school level. Many of these courses correlated history and geography; some attempted cross-disciplinary fusion, such as a combination of social studies and English. Most such courses have been concentrated in the junior high schools, where various aspects of world history usually were taught in Grade VII and American history in Grade VIII. Since 1920 the two most common history courses to emerge in the senior high school have been the tenth-grade world history course and the eleventh-grade course in United States history. Larger schools often provide electives in the field of history, such as a special course on Latin America. Recent world-history courses tend to cover much more than merely Western European history; nevertheless the course is frequently unpopular. In some areas, enrollment in world history has decreased, as have the number of schools requiring students to take the subject (114, 128). Kehoe (134) studied the evolution of the world-history course. He reveals that, despite attacks by both historians and teachers, it remains the second-ranking social-studies offering, next to United States history, in the high schools. It is evident that the greatest problem in connection with this course is related to the attempt to compress all history other than that of the United States into a single one-year general course. Until teachers and authors of texts are willing to be highly selective or until the course is expanded into a two-year broad-field offering, it probably will remain unsatisfactory for both students and teachers. Engle (77) attempted to point out one way of solving the problem of continuity and at the same time helping students to move from the study of one culture to another through the culture concept approach. One of the most helpful volumes available to teachers concerned with improving the teaching of world history is the Twentieth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (260). The most recent study has been a survey conducted by a committee of the Illinois

Council for the Social Studies. Over two hundred high schools in the state were canvassed, and much valuable information about offerings and instruction was gathered through a 28-item questionnaire (120).

It is estimated that approximately 60 percent of the current high-school enrollments in history are in American history. It is most commonly a two-semester course and often includes required government units or materials. A major problem has been a lack of differentiation between it and the offerings at the eighth- and fourteenth-grade levels. During World War II the course came under much public scrutiny; criticism reached a peak with the publication of the results of the *New York Times* survey on April 4, 1943. In an attempt to get at the facts concerning student knowledge in this area, the National Council for the Social Studies, the American Historical Association, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association appointed a committee to investigate claims about the teaching of American history. The 1944 report, prepared by Wesley (257), refuted the charges that the subject was being neglected and suggested a minimum program for each of the cycles. The great interest in this subject has led to considerable investigation. Brown (34) studied public criticism of secondary-school history from 1930 to 1954. He found the dominant criticisms directed toward teaching materials and textbooks. Another common criticism was the charge of the "debunking" of national heroes and traditions; emphasis upon internationalism was also objected to. Specific groups tended to react to what was or was not stated about their place or contribution to United States history. Skaurud (232) and Willis (266) surveyed changes in the American history curriculum since 1890. They found growing unity in the course offerings across the nation and increased attention to social, economic, recent, and international aspects of our national history. The U. S. Office of Education survey of 1947 revealed many facts about course registrations and offerings, including the fact that the course was nearly universally required (7). Gross' study of the teaching of United States history in one hundred high schools in California gathered facts on offerings, aims, methodology, content, teacher preparation, and suggestions for improving the course (98). Olmstead (192) also went to a group of American history teachers to discover the extent to which they appraised their own programs. He found a large majority of teachers quite dissatisfied with many aspects of the program and identified a number of interesting suggestions for modification. Devitt (65) attempted to help delimit the content of the course by gathering a comprehensive list of basic concepts to be taught; he submitted 938 concepts to three separate juries on a national level to validate the generalizations. Such a list organized in order of importance can be an aid to those attempting to build better courses. Another attempt to resolve one of the issues surrounding the organization and teaching of history courses was made by Jones (129), who tried to determine the views of a group of famous American historians on these points. She

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found no great agreement among these scholars—that is, no common “historian’s” point of view. The opinions of academicians appear to be just as divergent as those of the general public. The *Seventeenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* is a basic reference for those interested in the teaching of American history (245).

GOVERNMENT AND CIVICS. By 1900 a course in civil government was widely taught in the secondary schools, with some 20 percent of all students taking it. The course was formal and descriptive, with most of the content devoted to the structure of the national government but with some attention to state government. Gradually, courses in government and civics changed to present government as a functional process, with an emphasis upon the local community. By 1914 the term *civics* had come into wide use in describing courses in government. By 1920 the titles “vocational civics” and “community civics” had become popular; almost one fifth of all high-school students studied some variety of civics. Content varied greatly. Community civics tended to be placed in Grade IX. An advanced civics course, frequently given in the twelfth grade, emphasized national government. However, much duplication existed. As the twelfth-grade problems of democracy course grew in popularity, it tended to draw much of its material from the area of civics. As was indicated previously, the boundary lines of civics courses are still unclear, and there has been a great increase in the number of new topics introduced in recent years. Pettersch (201) traced the history of such courses from 1861 to 1930. Lewenstein (155) has analyzed ideas about citizenship education and basic democratic concepts with special implications for courses in government.

GEOGRAPHY. Until about 1900 geography had occupied an important place in the school curriculum as a physical science. In 1909 committees of the Association of American Geographers and of the National Education Association strongly criticized the overemphasis on the physical aspects of geography and recommended more attention to human responses to the environment. By 1914 physical geography had been largely absorbed by the rapidly increasing general science courses, and such geography as remained in the high school was included in commercial geography, human geography, or world geography. Geography also declined in popularity in the junior high school, and during the twenties and thirties much of its content was absorbed into the newer fusion courses. Although there was a revival of interest in geography during and immediately following World War II (170), geography is no longer of importance as a separate subject in the senior high schools. Only 5 to 7 percent of all students enrolled in four-year high schools take this subject (139). Kennamer studied the evolution of geography in American schools, including the European backgrounds of geographic education (138, 139). Brooks (32) reviewed the offerings of geography in the high-school curriculum during the past 25 years, as McAulay (160) did for the elementary-school geography. An excellent review of the teaching of geography was recently

prepared for the International Geographic Union by a commission headed by Scarfe (223). Wilson (268) attempted to build an “ideal” junior-high geography program by securing the opinions of experts and sampling courses of study. Gross (92) published a review of research in geographic education for the National Council of Geography Teachers.

Curricular studies in individual states have been conducted by Cole and Pontius (50) in California, Junge (130) in Michigan, and Miller (179) in Nebraska. These studies underscore the decline of geography as a separate subject, the extreme variety in offerings, and the lack of qualified teachers in this area. Becker (23) made an intense historical review of the development of geography in New York City high schools from 1898 to 1953. Conditions in that system have tended to parallel developments at the state and national levels. The *Nineteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* summarizes many of the practices to 1948 (148).

ECONOMICS. When the original title “political economy” was in use, economics had little success as a secondary-school offering although a number of courses were available. In some states (New York and Massachusetts) it was required for a time even as early as 1860. By 1893 less than 5 percent of the nation’s schools surveyed by the Committee of Ten offered the subject. After 1900 the simpler term *economics* grew in popularity, but even though the subject increased in frequency of offering student enrollment remained at a low level. Less than 5 percent of all high-school students were enrolled in such courses in 1920 and approximately the same percentage holds for the present. Much of the early content of economics has been absorbed into the newer problems-of-democracy courses, and where separate classes in economics do exist they are usually electives at the twelfth-grade level. Hunt (118) analyzed current economic content in the high-school curriculum and outlined a recommended approach to the teaching of high-school economics. He found good reasons for the lack of success of economics as a high-school subject, as did Moorman (182). Recently much research concerning economic education has been stimulated by the activities of the Joint Council on Economic Education. See ECONOMIC EDUCATION.

SOCIOLOGY. Sociology as a subject first appeared in the secondary school in 1911, but it has never attained an important place in the curriculum. It was offered in 1928 by some 18 percent of the h. h. schools throughout the country but was taken by less than 3 percent of the students. Most of the content was devoted to such problems as crime and poverty, population, race, economics, family, and general social theory. It has been claimed that many of the courses would have been more properly designated “social pathology.” As in the case of economics, much of the content has been taken over by the problems-of-democracy courses. At the present time, less than 5 percent of secondary students are enrolled in this subject. In 1950 Sullenger and others (242) reported a survey of 1100 high schools which showed

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that only 26 percent of them offered sociology as either a separate course or as part of some other integrated course, generally at the senior level.

PSYCHOLOGY. Psychology, as such, was first taught in high schools during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. During the twenties and thirties interest grew, but Helfant (107), reporting a survey of 1950, found less than 1 percent of all the high-school population enrolled in such courses. The growth of the guidance approach in recent years and the concern over the personal problems and adjustment of students has led to a slow but continuing growth in the subject. Engle (78) reported in 1955 that over 8 percent of the high schools now offer separate psychology courses. These courses are electives, usually taken in the twelfth grade and generally recognized as social-studies offerings.

TWELFTH-GRADE PROBLEMS COURSE. The Problems of Democracy course was recommended in a report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1916, although it had been suggested as early as 1901. By 1930 it was being taught in 28 states under a variety of titles. It is now almost always offered in the twelfth grade. It is a broad-field course, drawing its content mainly from political science, economics, and sociology. There is little agreement on what the problems course should contain; it is extremely broad in scope and in recent years has taken on more topics from psychology, international affairs, and current events. Currently more large high schools require this course than require world history; however, in the past 20 years the percentage of students enrolled nationally has declined from 10 percent to about 6 percent. The course is often organized on a one-semester basis. Babcock (16), Jennings (122), and Knapp (146) surveyed such courses in American high schools; Jennings included a detailed history of their evolution.

CURRENT EVENTS. Separate courses in current events or current history have existed sporadically since before 1900. In 1902, with the publication of a specially printed student newspaper, *Current Events*, popularity of the current-events idea grew. Generally, however, the current-events content was taught on certain set days and merely added to the regular history and social-studies offerings. American involvement in two World Wars brought much more attention to current events in the high-school curriculum. A recent survey by the Civic Education Service, Washington, D. C., one of the major publishers of school newspapers, revealed that among the many thousands of teachers using its papers the time devoted to current events was approaching one fourth of the total time available for social-studies instruction. In many of these cases, however, current events remain adjuncts to the typical social-studies offering. The problem of the integration of current events into the curriculum is a major concern of most social-studies teachers. Many approaches have been used, but most of them have not proved satisfactory. One obvious problem is the fragmented approach most commonly used in handling current events. The ever-

increasing international contacts of the American people demand knowledge about the current world on the part of American youth, and current events will probably continue to increase in importance as an aspect of the social studies. The Twenty-first Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies is a valuable reference in this area and contains a chapter devoted to research on the teaching of contemporary affairs (198). Teachers interested in the implications of current world affairs for the social-studies curriculum should also refer to the Twenty-fifth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (8). Gross and Zeleny (100, Ch. XII) and Ward (255) have attempted to delineate ways of incorporating consideration of international affairs into the curriculum.

College Curriculum Patterns. Considerable attention has been given to college offerings in social science or the social studies. The National Council for the Social Studies reported that five different curricular patterns were evident from the analysis of 150 syllabi for Grades XIII and XIV (249). Other analyses of college history and social-studies curriculums have been made by Mikesell (177), Park (196), Sanders (221), and Torpey (246). These reveal that, although history dominates the curriculum, many schools require very few credits in social science for graduation. Sanders reported that approximately 20 percent of the teachers colleges had no history requirement whatsoever for graduation. It is also evident from these studies that the integrated social-science course as a part of general education has been growing as a freshman and sophomore requirement in many colleges and universities.

Selecting Curricular Content. The problems of selecting content for the social studies and of organizing a most effective scope and sequence are complex and intertwined with many other aspects of the educational process. Many of the proposals have been made upon philosophical and *a priori* grounds. Most of the research in this area shows that a wide variety of patterns are effective and that probably no single program or means of arriving at such a program will ever result from objective research. The three most common approaches used consist of: (a) rearranging and modifying established subject matter, (b) organizing in terms of youth tasks and needs, and (c) restructuring in relation to social factors and problems. Although the latter has been suggested upon numerous occasions, few school programs have been so designed. The needs of youth are often considered and have been carefully explored over the past twenty years (211), but few curriculums are based upon them except in part. Explorations, refinements, and selections from the subject matter have been the most common sources for organization, as well as of content, in the social studies. Combinations of two or more approaches are often used. The recent California revision was initiated by going to experts in the social sciences for statements as to the basic concepts provided by each of the social-science disciplines (41). These statements were later modified, made specific, and provided for in the light of facts

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concerning the growth processes of the learner, the psychology of learning, and suggestions made by many hundreds of classroom teachers.

There have been many attempts to determine basic concepts in the social-studies field. One of the most recent was sponsored by the Committee on Concepts and Values of the National Council for the Social Studies (163). Some of them date back to the twenties. Billings (24) attempted to determine the most important generalizations related to the content of the social sciences. He secured the suggestions of two hundred experts as to outstanding volumes in the social sciences. A final selection of 28 books was read and each generalization dealing with human group life identified, listed, and grouped. Billings emerged from his refining procedure with 880 basic social-studies generalizations. Junge (131) used a similar technique and then attempted to determine how easily 88 generalizations in geography and world history could be learned. A series of ten related studies, only five of which have been completed at this writing, is designed to analyze a basic human activity (transportation, recreation, governing, etc.) and attempt to identify social-science generalizations for possible use in the elementary social-studies curriculum (12, 76, 153, 209, 241). For some of these areas, this was the first time such an extensive set of generalizations had been identified and organized. Such lists may serve as a frame of reference for planning learning experiences, selecting instructional materials, developing curriculums, writing texts, and evaluating bulletins, units, courses of study, and audio-visual aids. Douglass (68) used somewhat the same approach in identifying basic interrelationships between man and natural environment for use in the geographic strand of the social-studies curriculum. Two other such studies have recently been concluded at Boston University, one dealing with concepts in United States history (65) and one in relation to geographic concepts (67).

Examination of such studies leads to the conclusion that a prime problem facing workers in the field of the social studies today is the need for agreement on just *what* the social studies are to be. Concerted, correlated efforts at all levels are called for. A related question concerns the proper degree of local variation in offerings and requirements. Curriculum improvement at the local level may be most effective, but studies such as Hetzel's (112), in which he found fewer than 40 percent of the graduates of a high school staying in the locality, raise serious questions about basing curriculums on purely local demands. It is still not clear just what the implications are for the social studies of such phenomena as population mobility, the growing uniformity of American culture, and the general education movement.

PROBLEMS OF INSTRUCTION. Many studies at both the elementary and secondary level reveal student dislike for social-studies courses (48, 105, 194). The major complaints, such as dullness, uselessness, excessive memorization of names, dates, and events, and the like, are not attributable to the content of the social studies but rather to the ways in

which it is organized and presented. One of the major challenges is that of developing more effective classroom procedures. Many of the studies dealing with teaching methods in general or studies of teaching method in other curricular areas have some implications for social-studies instruction, but these have not been spelled out. A result of reviewing the research in this area is the rather discouraging realization that much that is now being tried in the way of techniques or advocated as more effective procedure is not based on research. Also, there is great discrepancy in the results reported in numerous studies, and in many areas it is impossible to state exactly what is the most effective approach. This is evidenced by Adams' survey (2) of a number of controlled experiments contrasting different social-studies classroom methods carried on during a period of 35 years. In light of the above problems this section of the article reports illustrative and more recent studies rather than attempting to summarize the conflicting evidence of much of the research.

Methods of Instruction. Duffey (69) studied the prevailing practices of 538 social-studies teachers and compared them with the techniques recommended by their college methods instructors and procedures recommended in the literature. Theory is evidently only partially "sold" to teachers—or perhaps methods courses are not realistic in what they advise and emphasize. Duffey found agreement on broad-field offerings, on integration with other curricular areas, on the need for a problem-solving emphasis, and on some aspects of current events; however, he found disagreement on such items as the use of workbooks, means for building intercultural understanding, the handling of controversial issues, and techniques of evaluation. The methods now favored in the education of social-studies teachers may be inferred from recent college textbooks for special methods courses in the teaching of the social studies at the elementary level (175, 176, 181, 193, 206) and at the secondary level (100, 119, 124, 180, 219). However, Searles (225), in his survey of college methods courses in teaching high-school social studies, found instructors stressing only 5 of some 14 basic methods. Most commonly emphasized were group discussion, group reports, unit approaches, use of current periodical materials, and individual reports. In spite of the recommendations in the texts, teachers continue large-scale use of more traditional approaches.

The problem of finding the most effective approach is emphasized by the findings of DeLong (83) and Stovall (240) in social studies, Traxler (247) in American history, and Vent (253) in geography. In terms of attainment of various social-studies aims, differences among various approaches frequently are negligible. A teacher may state six aims of equal importance and find that socialized discussion is better in reaching three of them, while question-and-answer recitation brings better attainment of the other three. One suspects that if a teacher is able and particularly interested in or favorable toward a given method, it will be most effective for him. It is evident, however, that the teacher should not use one or two

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methods to the exclusion of all others; a variety of techniques, each of which fits certain special purposes or situations, probably will yield the highest returns in learning. Stovall also indicates that good interpersonal relations in the classroom are basic to success regardless of the methods of instruction.

LECTURE AND DISCUSSION. Although lecturing at the lower school level, as well as formalized recitation, has long been under attack, both techniques continue to be used to a considerable degree by many teachers. Horn (117, Ch. VIII) has summarized much of the material on these elements of method. A comparison of more recent research on lecture *versus* discussion has been made by Stovall (239). He found that, in acquiring information, lecture and discussion have been found approximately equal in effectiveness but discussion helps in the retention of information. Most experimenters have found discussion more effective than lecturing or telling in helping students develop abilities beyond the acquisition of facts, such as skill in drawing inferences, perceiving relationships, synthesizing, and applying principles. The preponderance of evidence from a great variety of sources also indicates that group discussion is distinctly superior to the lecture in affecting attitudes and behavior. Telling, however, for slow learners or poor readers can be a valuable technique.

TEACHER-PUPIL PLANNING. Teacher-pupil planning has also been the subject of continuing investigation. Westerman (261) traced the literature of teacher-pupil planning in secondary social studies between 1920 and 1956. A general conclusion is that teacher-pupil planning has been an increasingly accepted classroom process. Other conclusions are: the improvement of learning, motivation, and meeting student needs and interests are predominant reasons for the use of this approach; students in the social studies who have so participated share in the planning of content almost as frequently as in the planning of unit procedures; teacher-pupil planning of content occurs in separate subject courses, as well as in integrated courses; and criticism of this practice has declined considerably since 1940. Rehage (210) compared pupil-teacher planned classes with teacher-directed eighth-grade social-studies courses. The experimental classes did as well as the traditional classes in mastering subject matter and showed greater gains in reasoning power and in understanding problem situations, as well as in class morale. Bush (40) has found some evidence that the friendly instructor is not always the most successful; Johnston (126) found that so-called autocratic instructors tended to be either the older instructors or the very inexperienced. Those instructors more democratic in their classroom practices tended to have more liberal attitudes and to be self-confident and more self-sufficient.

ACTIVITIES AND PROJECTS. Varied activities to supplement the usual classroom reading, questioning, and discussion have long been urged. More studies are needed to prove the virtues claimed for many of these activities and projects. In 1929 Wilson (267) compiled an exhaustive classified list of possible

activities for use in the social studies. Price (207) used this list in an investigation of their merits. He found that overt activities were preferred by slow pupils and that teachers tend to use in excess the more traditional and passive approaches. Entin (79) and Sasman (222) have outlined some of the necessary conditions for getting changed behavior in laboratory-classroom and field experiences. Keinard (135) found that activities promoted a significantly higher level of learning and an increased interest in the study of geography. Cook (52), questioning the virtues of an approach now commonly taken for granted, found that films provided no significant advantage over other motivational approaches used by teachers in United States history classes. Duncan (70) found that field trips and the use of community resources are effective in promoting learning, but that such approaches out of context have little value. Just as with the use of motion pictures on a promiscuous basis, which is all too common, activities should be utilized as means and not as ends in themselves. Nearly every investigation has demonstrated the greater value of supervised class study and activities in comparison with homework. However, McGill (164) found no significant differences in results in the areas he evaluated, and Porter (205) found no one scheme for the use of study questions to be clearly superior. Commonly the failure of a specific activity to attain an expected end is the result of the teacher's failure to explain and to use the activity properly.

GROUP PROCESSES. Much of the general research in group dynamics has implications for the social studies; several such experiments have been summarized by Jenkins (121). The great interest in recent years in human relations has spurred social-studies teachers to attempt to understand better the dynamics of group relationships in their classes, not only to effect more satisfactory group learning but also to find better ways for reaching and involving individuals in their classes. Some of the research has been aimed at building more effective discussion situations in the large group, for, as Rickard (212) found, classes using good group-discussion methods also show a statistically significant gain in the mastery of factual content as compared with those having little or no group discussion. Anderson and Phelps' survey of discussion techniques used by 110 social-studies teachers in 15 high schools showed that, although all teachers used some discussion, they varied greatly in the types of discussion situations provided and thus in the number of students involved (11). The distressing finding here was that in 55 percent of the classes students had no preparatory instructions or had little help from the teachers in planning for their panels or reports. No method can be effective if instructors take for granted the competency of their students in necessary techniques. Anderson and Phelps claim that the lack of speech training on the part of teachers is a major cause for failure in this area; among other causes they cite very large classes. Large classes have led teachers to try various means of forming small subgroups. Such groupings should

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be used more frequently; research into the size of groups, for example, has raised serious doubts about the quality of total group discussion when it involves more than 12 or 15 persons (239). Metcalf (171) concluded that there is evidence that critical thinking is improved and that there is more consistency in the concepts developed by students who have the opportunity to discuss in their classes.

Sociometric approaches have been used to study the social values of students, for guidance, and for evaluation in social-studies classes (14, 66, 84, 215). Zeleny has summarized and indicated the implications of many of these practices (100, Ch. XIX). Others, such as Shaftel (228) and Stone (238), have attempted to develop problem stories and role-playing situations wherein students will develop American ideals in socio-dramatic situations.

Development of Skills. One of the most complete sources of information on skill development in the social studies is the Twenty-fourth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (44). Reports in this volume parallel the implication of Scott's findings; namely, skills must be taught (224). Chace (47) has reviewed a total-school program in social-studies skill development and includes recommendations for the development of map skills, the sequence of skill development, and conditions favorable to growth in the various skills. She underscores the importance of individualization of instruction in this area. A graded list of skills to be developed at the elementary levels is included in the report. The place for and teaching of map skills has been discussed by Edwards (72), Kohn (148), and Wagner (254). Edwards developed indices for space orientation and evolved an instrument to measure student orientation. The National Council for the Social Studies prepared a pamphlet devoted to the proper introduction of map and globe concepts at various grade levels (263).

Time concepts have also undergone considerable exploration. Wesley has a valuable chapter on the building of understandings in this area (258, Ch. 15). Freidman's work (85) has also given evidence of the developmental nature of an understanding of chronology; as with space concepts, time concepts are often introduced too early and teachers assume a greater understanding than students actually have. Spiro (236) has summarized a number of findings on time-sense. Among his conclusions are: these concepts are built by a slow, continuing process related to student maturation; systematic teaching prior to age 13, approximately, or to students of mental age less than 10 will not hasten the development of this sense; after the seventh grade systematic training in chronology may be carried on with profit; some aspects of time sense are dependent upon the growth of other meanings and relationships in children's thinking; and instruction is often hindered by misgraded materials and by the use of unproved instruments. As a basis for planning dates to be emphasized in lower school instruction, Pressey (205) examined names, terms, persons, places, and dates commonly used but not explained in college texts in 1930. Such a study might profitably be brought up to date, since

many more students are now continuing on through college and since most college texts now used in the social sciences were not included in her 1930 listing. The teaching of specific dates is generally more satisfactory than the teaching of approximate dates or centuries, and undoubtedly the knowledge of "key" dates serves as a set of "mental pegs" of chronology in many social-studies classes. However, as Herriott revealed (111), there is practically no agreement among the teachers concerning which dates are most important to emphasize at various grade levels. He found, in fact, only one date agreed upon by as many as 50 percent of the high-school teachers of American history as one for which they should be responsible; however, that date—1453—was one that had been shown to be both erroneous and unimportant as it was commonly emphasized in American history courses! The Wesley Committee Report of 1944 did attempt to delineate a group of suggested dates to be emphasized in each of the American history cycles found in the curriculum (257).

Development of Problem-Solving Abilities. In recent years critical thinking and problem-solving have been emphasized as essential in social-studies learning. The Seventh and Thirteenth Yearbooks of the National Council for the Social Studies (9, 74) made major contributions in this area, as have some of its more recent publications, especially the 1955 bulletin edited by Fersh (82). The last chapter of this bulletin contains a rather complete summary of the literature on the problems approach in social education up to that date. Henderson (109) and Russell (217) have summarized factors essential in developing critical thinking. Gross and McDonald (99) reviewed a number of the basic studies completed in the last twenty years. In one of these earlier studies, Glaser (91) compared four control classes with four classes given guidance in the principles and processes of problem-solving. After evaluation with instruments he himself developed, he concluded that the four experimental classes had made significantly greater progress in developing critical-thinking ability and that students' attitudes toward rational problem-solving procedures can be changed. He also pointed up the fact that group problem-solving experiences are valuable for concomitant reasons; students also learn essential democratic skills.

Another significant experiment in this area was the Stanford Social Education Investigation. Most of the important findings of this five-year study, which involved ten teachers in five school systems, have been reported in *Education for Social Competence* (208). The staff attempted to contrast the relative effectiveness of the chronological, topical, and problems methods in social-studies classes at the senior high school level. Although many results, such as improved skills and attitudes, favored the problems groups, differences between classes often were very small. Students in classes with chronologically organized materials did make the most significant gains in the amount of information learned and, perhaps surprisingly, in research techniques. These results are not compatible with certain statements of other investi-

gators who claim students always learn more facts as well as varied social-studies skills when using the problems method, no matter what the course may be. The investigators recommended more trials of the problems approach but concluded that it was probably not the most effective form of organization for all social-studies classes. The Stanford study also indicates the importance of the teacher, no matter what approach is used.

A more recent study by Kight and Mickelson (141) attempted to investigate the related effects of problem- and subject-centered types of presentation upon learning facts and learning rules of action. Twenty-nine teachers taught problem- and subject-centered units in rotation to 1450 students in English, science, and social-studies classes. Students learned more factual information in problem-centered units; however, differences were not great in a number of cases, and social-studies groups gained fewer facts than rules of action as a result of their problem-centered units. The problem presentation showed marked superiority in helping students learn rules of action in all areas. There was a high positive correlation between learning facts and rules of action by problem-solving, as compared with a low correlation for the subject-matter approach units. Nine recommendations for curriculum organization and instruction were made by the investigators. Peters (199) used 36 high-school classes in history, civics, and sociology in different parts of the United States to determine whether problem-centered courses using fugitive materials and teacher-pupil planning were more effective in developing citizenship competencies than the traditional secondary-school class organization. He claimed the experimental classes occasioned fewer discipline problems, were superior to the control classes in ability to interpret historical events and to apply knowledge gained, and showed a greater interest in social problems. On the average, the experimental groups learned as much content as the traditional academic groups. Peters does not include full statistical data to support his contentions. Bayles (22) has reported on six studies with "reflective teaching" which he directed. All were concerned with how well members of classes taught in a problem-solving manner compared with those taught conventionally with respect to what is covered in typical, standardized examinations. He reports that without qualification, even where the conventionally taught students were coached for the tests, those in the experimental classes did significantly better. An important observation from these studies is that teacher improvement in using problem-solving approaches is slow. Gains increase considerably after a teacher has had several years' experience with the method. Studies in this area to date, however, often show that the problems approach is not superior to other techniques in teaching facts; but if the instructor is concerned with factors beyond the informational, such as the acquisition of improved insights and critical thinking competencies and the development of democratic attitudes, he should consider providing problem-solving experiences for his students.

Teaching of Controversial Issues. Teachers have been concerned with the handling of controversies which may arise in class in connection with the study of problems and current events. Michaelis (172) found high-school social-studies teachers rating his as a question of first importance. The National Council for the Social Studies has issued an excellent statement on freedom to teach and freedom to learn (187). The appropriateness of treating crucial issues in the social studies has been supported by two studies which reveal that students favor such classes (71, 97). Gross (96) gathered a list of "taboo areas" and outlined steps for handling these successfully. Hemingway (108) attempted to discover the effect of social attitudes upon comprehension when students read controversial materials. Rogers (214) sought the opinions of high-school social-studies teachers in two southern cities concerning controversial issues in the classroom. She concluded that the temperament of the teacher is the greatest factor in disinclination to handle such problems and claimed to have found little evidence of overt-pressure in this direction by school administrators and the community. Deam (62) queried 313 Virginia high-school social-studies teachers, administrators, and school board members on their views concerning the place of controversial issues in secondary-school history and government classes. A majority of the respondents agreed to the inclusion of 18 of the 20 controversial issues suggested. The five least acceptable topics included issues dealing with: (a) the religious affiliation of the President, (b) the use of force in obtaining confessions from suspected criminals, (c) the merits of socialism, (d) extending free speech to those who advocate the forcible overthrow of the government, and (e) the effects of integration of the races in the public schools. There were differences in opinion among the three groups sampled. Only a bare majority favored teachers' stating their views on current issues, even when stated as such and supported by reasons. Even the teachers accepted certain limitations upon their freedom to teach. The study includes some helpful recommendations for administrative facilitation of the handling of controversies in social-studies classrooms.

Materials of Instruction. Much of the research on teaching materials, including audio-visual aids, textbooks, and the like, has important implications for social-studies instruction. None of these general studies are included below. However, representative studies centered in the social studies will be cited.

TEXTBOOKS. There has been considerable activity in analyzing social-studies textbooks and their uses. The multiple-text and single-text approaches have been contrasted, as has the use of pamphlets and outline books *versus* the complete single reference approach (165). Appropriate selections for specific grade levels have been analyzed and listed (269). Although American history texts seem to have been investigated more than any other type, texts for all grade levels and offerings for many specific courses, such as world history (30) and twelfth-grade problems (259), have been examined. Among the topics

explored are the treatment of the concept of law (80), foreign affairs (89), atomic energy (162), social security (185), and human relations (234). Peterson (200) found the readability of social-studies texts to be unsatisfactory.

Nietz (189) traced the evolution in size of geography texts and gave reasons for the marked increase in size in recent years. He regards present texts as generally too encyclopedic and superficial. Improvements in texts are cited by numerous investigators, such as Landy (150) for the area of geography and Cooper (54) for American history. Such alterations include more effective study aids, proper levels of readability, more illustrations, improved format, and the like. Most investigators have continued to find deficiencies and have given numerous suggestions for further improvements in textbooks. Moreover, classroom teachers, the great number of whom remain single-text users, have made numerous suggestions; for example, 64 percent of a group of United States history teachers recently cited specific textual needs (94). In addition, although publishers and authors now take much greater care to assure accuracy than was once the case, appalling errors in connection with material on the Soviet Union, Latin America, and the Far East have been cited (38, 106, 270). Texts may also come close to error through omission, faulty emphasis, or misleading context for statements; the use of condescending terms and nicknames and implication of faults of certain groups or nations may build prejudice rather than understanding (237). UNESCO has devoted attention to this problem (149, 250).

Another major problem facing social-studies textbook users has been that of keeping up to date with newer social-science developments, findings, and interpretations. Several studies made some time ago should be repeated now. For example, in 1932 Blythe (27) found a tremendous lag in the incorporation of research findings in the area of history into the textbooks; only five of certain then-accepted views were reflected in all of the texts she reviewed. Turner's "frontier thesis" took almost a quarter of a century to find its way into high-school textbooks. Levine (154) listed 15 current social problems in 1937 and then examined United States history texts to find to what extent they threw light upon these. He claimed that at that time there was a great need for a twelfth-grade problems course, since the American history texts gave more space to wars than to all of the 15 problems combined. More recently, Hanson (103) has pointed out another continuing failure in social-studies texts—that of partial explanations and the failure to generalize. In terms of what is known about the learning process, such weaknesses in history books pose a serious problem for the instructor. Caputo (43) and Sanford (218) have indicted textbooks for failure to implement the bulk of the typical objectives.

Adequate texts for fused or integrated courses present a great problem. Many of the faults of the specialized text are present in excess in texts for broad-field or correlated courses. Geographic concepts and understandings, for example, are frequently

lost in some of the newer elementary and secondary social-studies books which are supposed to provide for these learnings in addition to the historical, economic, and social learnings for which they are responsible. Some of these problems are evident in the studies sponsored by the American Council on Education in relation to the treatment of Canada and Latin America in United States textbooks (42, 106). Growing American concern over relationships with the nations of Asia has led to serious study of the consideration of nations and peoples of that area of the world in schoolbooks. A survey of some of these studies confirms many of the charges listed above. In addition, this area of the world has been severely slighted in many of our books. Although Takari (243) found considerable progress in developing an objective point of view toward Japan, Wood's summary (270) of the treatment of the Far East and Deodhar's examination (64) of the attention given to India in United States texts give evidence that in terms of balance, objectivity, comprehensiveness, and accuracy, much is still to be desired.

OTHER TEACHING MATERIALS. We have long known that all students do not derive the same meaning from the same material—a conclusion evident in the studies reviewed by Stinson (5)—and that where common aims do exist they must often be reached by different means. Individualization, unit teaching, broad-field and integrated courses, and the problems approach have all spurred the development and use of varied teaching materials to supplement and in some cases supplant the textbook. When instructors look carefully at their course objectives, they are generally led to the realization that many of these aims call for special teaching materials. Although many more properly graded reference materials and audio-visual aids are becoming available, most periodical and fugitive literature is not written with school children in mind. One study of available pamphlets in the area of international relations found them generally far too difficult for even the average high-school graduate (101). Publishers and educational associations have recognized this problem and as a result are providing instructors with specially written booklets for students, such as the Living Democracy Series of the National Council for the Social Studies and the booklets on many topics from personal guidance to foreign policy available through Science Research Associates and the Oxford Book Company. Smith (233) examined the development and use of such materials by elementary teachers. The teachers reported that such special materials did much to promote student response and learning and recommended that these be used regularly to help students develop the behaviors associated with socio-civic responsibility. Kinney and Dresden (142) have also found evidence as to the value of focusing social-studies learnings on current problem-centered materials.

Kelly (137) concluded a historical study of the use of collateral reading from 1900 to 1950 and reported that although the use of such supplementary materials has had the continuing support of leading educators and national committees, such materials

have usually been in short supply and teachers generally do not provide students with enough time for their proper use. White (264) made a thorough study of available social-studies materials and their utilization in 55 high schools. His findings present a bleak picture which reinforces the observation of critical observers that teachers fail to use even the maps and bulletin boards which are available in their own schoolrooms. He found that larger schools had a greater quantity and better quality of reference materials, that encyclopedias were the only general references available in all of the schools, and that other general references were meager. Although the existence of a school librarian made for better organization and administration of reference materials, the quality of what was available was generally limited and the quantity and variety of periodicals inadequate. Teachers have been wont to blame administrators for such conditions, but as a group the teachers themselves also are at fault. White found that few teachers requested the purchase of supplementary materials and few made assignments which called for the use of varied reference materials. In addition, teachers tended to be much more satisfied with the quality and quantity of the materials on hand than was the investigator, and they had few specific suggestions for library improvement. Wronski (271) found evidence of some of these same problems in his study of the use of government publications by social-studies teachers. Park (195) found teachers' use of supplementary and audio-visual materials to be quite unsatisfactory. His observers found most perceptual experiences given only during class discussion and seldom through such media as globes, field trips, recordings, and films and film strips. Of course great variation in practice existed, but this serves to underscore the need for proper preservice, as well as inservice, instruction. Teachers miss many opportunities to use these learning materials or fail to use them efficiently, and these weaknesses are usually in inverse proportion to the amount of college training they have had.

Reading in Relation to the Social Studies. In a field with as many verbal learnings as occur in the social studies it should be expected that close relationships exist between reading skills and achievement in social studies. Young (274) in 1941 summarized research on reading in the social studies; experimentation since that time reveals little that is startlingly different. Four studies will be cited as typical of those being conducted in this area. Again, it should be noted that many of the general studies on reading hold important implications for improving instruction in social studies. Aukerman (15) studied the reading status of good and poor eleventh-grade American history students in an attempt to determine whether or not general or specific reading abilities are associated with achievement in American history. The good history students were better in general reading ability than the poor ones; social-studies achievement and the ability to discover main ideas in paragraphs were found to be related to general reading ability. Rudolph (216) found that significant

student gains in social studies in knowledge, comprehension, and attitudes resulted when a special program of reading instruction was undertaken at the eighth-grade level. Brownell (35) investigated the influence of training in reading upon the ability to think critically in ninth-grade social studies. He concluded that significant gains in more mature types of interpretation, critical reaction, and reasoning can be made in a comparatively short time by a properly designed developmental reading program, and that secondary-school students of all ability levels can benefit from such instruction.

Covell (57) tried to characterize good and poor readers of high-school social-studies materials. Good readers, as contrasted with poor ones, had the following characteristics: a broad, specialized, social-studies vocabulary; accurate understanding of time and place concepts; good command of metaphorical language; strength in general vocabulary and sentence and paragraph comprehension; average or better intelligence; of middle and upper socio-economic class; liberal social views and conservative economic beliefs; active roles in school and community affairs; good academic grades; and a liking for reading. In his review of pertinent research Covell concluded that the following are valid propositions concerning reading in the social studies: readiness for reading in the social studies is an important factor in understanding what is read and is largely determined by the experiential background of the reader; ability to do critical thinking is particularly needed in reading social-studies materials; some reading difficulties are related to the nature of the content of the social-studies material itself; the concept burden forms a large part of the difficulty of reading social-studies material; achievement in social studies is directly related to ability in reading social-studies materials and also to the extent to which such reading is taught; general reading ability can be analyzed into certain specific factors, some of which are more closely related to the ability to read social-studies materials than are others; and the interpretation of social-studies materials is affected by certain subjective conditions such as attitudes, biases, motivations, interests, and personal and social adjustment. Weaknesses in reading ability are a prime cause of failure in the social studies, and social-studies teachers need more competency in this area than most of them display.

There has been much interest in other relationships between the language arts and the social studies. Lottick (158) reported favorable results for an experiment that used historical novels in social-studies classes, as did Gall (87). Although Brown and Brown (33) extolled the use of biography, a study by Banks and others (18) casts doubt upon some of the reasons usually offered for using such literature. Mennes (169) and Watrous (256) found that students approve of integrated or correlated courses.

EVALUATION. Many of the studies previously cited in this article might well be included here. Most of these will not be referred to again; they were arbitrarily placed in other sections because it seemed

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more appropriate to review them there. It is fortunate to be able to report increasing activity in the area of social-studies evaluation. Such studies have been overly neglected in the past. However, much more investigation, less sporadic and more effectively planned and organized, is needed. It is only through a full, continuing, valid, and reliable evaluation program that teachers can gain an honest appraisal of current conditions and an adequate basis for improving social-studies curriculums and instruction.

Blick (25), Outland and Jones (194), and Taylor (244) have all sought student evaluation of their social-studies experiences. The student is one important source of information frequently overlooked, particularly in the secondary school, when appraising and modifying social-studies programs.

Considerable activity has been devoted to assessing student grasp of social-studies information and concepts. Corman (55) evaluated students' understanding of social-studies terminology before and after a voting project and also contrasted the group's knowledge with that of a former class that had not had such experience. Bloom (26) conducted one of the many "past and present" studies comparing student achievement of an earlier time with that of contemporary students. Most such studies reveal current educational approaches to be much more successful than many critics are willing to admit.

Indirect evaluation of the effectiveness of social-studies instruction can be found. For example, studies of student voting preferences as compared with the voting attitudes and party loyalties of parents are useful data for estimating the influence of high-school social studies in building independent thinking (273). A lack of such effectiveness has been charged as the result of tracing the voting record of the American public over a number of decades (53). Social-studies programs seem to reveal more success in developing knowledge and in building skills than in altering attitudes. Bates (21) concluded that the school's program is a factor of "some importance" in the development of understanding, but Cotter (56) concluded from her study of the teaching of critical thinking among sixth-graders that the ability to obtain facts does not guarantee the use of these facts in effective thinking. Ferish (81) found that the problems approach in the social studies did alter social beliefs and thinking skills, and Ursula (252) in her analysis of the effect of geography courses upon international understanding claimed that geographic knowledge influences attitudes. Ojemann and others (191) report growth in understanding and improved attitudes and behaviors resulting from their experimental units. Somit and others (235), however, in evaluating the effects of social-studies instruction in political science at the college level, found no significant change in student inclination toward participation in active politics as a result of their course. Possibly attitudes are altered more easily in younger persons, but the evidence is clear that social-studies teachers cannot assume that a growth in democratic attitudes or values is an automatic result of implanting knowledge and content.

Much of the evaluation in the area of citizenship education overlaps that in the field of social studies. Gates (88), for example, developed seven evaluative criteria for rating the results of high-school civic instruction; these went beyond the usual evaluation of academic achievement. Herrick (110) developed criteria for evaluating citizenship training techniques in the high school and developed a rating scale of 370 items covering seven aspects of the program. Brooks (31), using a statement of characteristics of a good citizen developed by a committee of the National Council for the Social Studies, developed an instrument for measuring children's knowledge of basic principles of social education and their ability to apply them. Sica (231) explored student behavior in Grades VII through XII and collected over four thousand usable incidents reported by more than one thousand students in 12 schools; these incidents were classified into 12 categories of good and poor citizenship. The 12 categories with their many subcategories might well serve as the basis of an instrument for helping evaluate the effectiveness of social-studies instruction in any school or classroom.

Abraham's study of the effectiveness of high-school courses in American history (1) examined specific classes at given school levels. Other studies, such as the report of a complete social-studies evaluation program (188, Ch. I), focus on a single school system. Social-studies programs have been assessed at the state level, as in the revealing report of the Kansas Study of Education for Citizenship (262). School systems have also attempted to evaluate the effects of statewide social-studies examinations (13). Others have examined specific tests, such as the social-studies test of the College Entrance Examination Board (29, 49). Sexauer (227) analyzed 16 standardized geography tests and concluded that these tend to overemphasize factual recall and do not adequately consider geographic relationships and skills. Lindquist and Anderson (156) examined achievement tests in the social-studies field and came to the same conclusions. Such tests should go beyond the mere identification of names, dates, places, and events. In an attempt to help teachers build their own tests with greater emphases upon the understanding of interrelationships and the application of information, a series of bulletins devoted to test items in the areas of American history and government, world history, social-studies skills, and the like, were published by the National Council for the Social Studies. Two of them have recently been revised (10, 184). In recent years there has been a considerable improvement in standardized tests, and many have been developed to measure aspects of social studies instruction hitherto believed too difficult or subjective to ascertain. In going beyond the appraisal of changes in symbolic behavior, test-makers have developed instruments of particular help for appraising changes in social-emotional adjustment and in identifying student interests and attitudes. A list of the most valuable of these tests, as well as general social-studies attainment and skills tests, is available (100, Ch. 20).

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More research is needed into the actual evaluation practices employed by social-studies teachers. Gross (95) found history teachers in one hundred high schools claiming to use a variety of evaluative techniques. Teacher-made objective tests were the major instruments employed; class discussion and recitation and oral reports were used to a greater extent than essay tests and student papers and notebooks. Revealing is the fact that these social-studies instructors used few group or individual projects as major instruments of appraisal, and they almost completely neglected the more subjective and projective approaches urged by theorists in recent years, such as anecdotal records, inventories, student self-evaluation, sociometry, and the like. Evaluative practices of teachers reflect their real aims; too few social-studies instructors accept the broad and varied objectives commonly stated for their field, and they continue to evaluate primarily in terms of command of content—the overwhelming concern of their efforts. There is also need for a new comprehensive volume on evaluation with special reference to the social studies. Nothing of this sort has appeared since the 1934 publication by Kelley and Krey (136).

THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER. The teacher is the key element in a successful learning situation, and more research concerning his attitudes, attributes, training, approaches, and effectiveness in the classroom is needed. Several of the over-all studies in the area of teacher education and the evaluation of teaching performance are applicable to the social-studies teacher, but a number of investigators have looked particularly to the social-studies instructor for some of their answers. Moreland (183) made an analysis of the preparation of secondary-school social-studies teachers in fifty selected institutions of higher learning. He described many of the details which characterize these programs—the required courses, screening devices, the varied student teaching arrangements, major and minor offerings, and the like. Although there have been changes—history and philosophy of education have declined considerably as requirements, newer kinds of activities with boys and girls are appearing in the professional sequence prior to student teaching, and there is an attempt to build a broader social-science background—developments are slow and one finds considerable similarity between present programs and those of the twenties (230) and of the thirties (17). Horn (116) gathered the opinions of Indiana social-studies teachers concerning the fifth year of teacher education. These teachers favored a combination of professional and subject-matter courses and stressed that social-science departments need to provide more introductory courses at the graduate level and/or drop current prerequisites, if they are to enroll more teachers who desire to increase their knowledge of content.

In a national study of the special methods course in the training of social-studies teachers, Scarles (225) attempted to discover what is taught, how it is taught, and who teaches it. He found the courses meeting more of the professional needs of students than they did the important personal needs which

can be equally, if not more, important in determining successful instruction. More restricted studies include those of Marcus (168), who analyzed the program in the preparation of prospective teachers of geography, and Burdick (37), who developed a guide for a special course in college United States history for prospective high-school history teachers. Eikenberry (73) reviewed and organized helpful lists of audio-visual materials for use in social-studies teacher education. The most complete, up-to-date source of information on many of the factors influencing and characterizing the teacher of the social studies is the Twenty-third Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (6). Particularly helpful are chapters on elementary and secondary teacher-education programs and on professional growth.

Katz (132) investigated the political and economic beliefs of social-studies student teachers in Canada over a period of three years. He found a preponderance of "idealistic views" and "liberal attitudes." There was more agreement concerning an acceptance of democratic governmental practices and values than there was agreement about the desirability of current economic practices. In the latter area many young prospective teachers revealed a belief in cooperative ownership and share-the-profits plans, and more than half believed in government ownership of the means of production. One of Katz' conclusions is the need for frank recognition of the importance of personal beliefs and emotional attitudes in the training of teachers and the desirability of having student teachers become aware of the significance of their own values. He also concludes that student teachers give evidence of a healthy, critical attitude which will safeguard them and their students from blind indoctrination. Miller (178) examined the backgrounds of one hundred teachers responsible for teaching courses including economic content in Iowa high schools. He found no consistent pattern of economic attitudes; and though they had adequate ability in some aspects of economics, they were weak in basic concepts and up-to-date developments and viewpoints. Professionally they revealed greatest weakness in their lack of preparation in adolescent psychology, guidance, and evaluation. As might be expected, he found the majority representing stable middle-class values. Powell (204) analyzed differences in the characteristics such as intelligence, cultural achievement, and personal adjustment of teachers in 17 different subject fields. He used the records, tests, and interviews of 3473 teaching applicants in Detroit from 1942 to 1948. There were wide ranges within each field, but social-studies teachers had a "significantly high" rating on every factor measured except personal adjustment. For some reason or another they were the most poorly adjusted of any of the 17 groups. What this might mean is open to considerable conjecture. Park and Hawkins (197) reviewed research on the personality of the social-studies teacher which reveals that the traits most frequently listed as desirable for social-studies instructors are about the same as those suggested for the profession as a whole. However, in one respect social-studies instructors have been found

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superior to other teachers; Collings and Dimond (51) followed the voting habits of high-school teachers in ten elections and found the social-studies teachers voting with greater regularity than their high-school colleagues and with more than twice the regularity of the general public.

The problem of improving the quality of the social-studies instructor is a complex one. Undoubtedly one reason for the unpopularity of social-studies offerings is the large number of instructors without adequate background and interest in the social sciences who are teaching social studies. Many studies at the local and state level reveal far too large a percentage of instructors with weak minors, or even no minor at all, attempting to teach the social studies; for example, in 1952, in Florida, out of 1468 white secondary-level social-studies teachers only 615 were certified to teach social studies (159). Also unfortunate is the frequent assignment of social-studies majors to almost a full schedule in other course areas.

A reappraisal of the place and role of social studies in the curriculum is in order in many school systems. A delimitation of the program followed by careful planning and cooperation with teachers whose major curricular efforts are in other subject areas is certainly in order. As was stated above, Duffey (69) found that the practices of teachers are frequently at odds with the theory being taught in teacher preparation courses. Perhaps the colleges need to take a more realistic look at what is actually going on in elementary and secondary schools and so modify programs and courses for the preparation of social-studies teachers. For example, several surveys have revealed inadequate preparation in educational sociology for many social-studies instructors. Although a course may not help materially in promoting better understanding of the community and the social factors therein, undoubtedly teachers with a rather full knowledge of the immediate cultural environment will be able to shape a much more effective program of social education. In addition, all concerned might look at, modify, and bring up-to-date for their own situation studies, such as those made at the elementary and secondary level by Michaelis (172, 173), which attempt to find some answers by approaching the teachers themselves for the identification of attitudes and the rating of problems which are of prime import. This information, combined with that available from other pertinent research, should help indicate some of the next steps in improving social-studies programs.

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RESEARCH REVIEW ELEVEN

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SOCIAL STUDIES. The major headings of this article are given below. Page references to detailed topics are given in the Index.

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Definition. The term "social studies" indicates a *field* composed of such subjects as economics, sociology, geography, civics, and history. The term parallels the sciences and mathematics, and like them it denotes the several subjects into which the field is divided. The social studies constitute that field whose content deals directly with human relationships. Economics, for example, deals with man's cooperative efforts to make a living. Geography, though in part within the

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province of the physical sciences, is at least indirectly a part of the social studies as well because man's physical environment affects and conditions his conduct and his relationships with his fellows. On the other hand, arithmetic is not one of the social studies because its content deals with numbers and with processes and is only incidentally social. All subjects presumably meet human needs and so have social purposes, but only in the social studies is the content as well as the purpose social. It should be carefully noted that the term *social studies* refers to a field and not to a subject, and most emphatically does not refer to a particular kind of organization. Nor can the term properly be limited to any scheme or type of fusion or integration.

For the sake of clarity it is well to distinguish the social studies from the social sciences. The latter are those bodies of scholarly materials which deal with human relationships. They are the products of research, thought, and experience. On the other hand, the social studies are those portions of the social sciences which have been selected for instructional purposes. The social sciences possess broad social utility; the social studies are specifically instructional. The teacher of the social studies must be a student of the social sciences, but, fully as important, he must reorganize them and simplify them for his students. He must be a curriculum maker.

The term *social science* is still occasionally misused to describe the area properly called the *social studies*, despite the almost universal acceptance of the latter. This acceptance stemmed officially from its use by the Social Studies Committee of the National Education Association in 1916 and has been strengthened, officially and unofficially, through the organization, in 1921, of the National Council for the Social Studies, a Department of the National Education Association, by the use of the term by the American Historical Association, through the widespread designation of state organizations as "councils for the social studies," and through its employment by almost innumerable school systems.

The social studies derive their names and, in general, their content from the social sciences. Thus history, economics, geography, and sociology are terms which describe subjects which are both social sciences and social studies, although in each case the latter are supposed to be simplified and reorganized portions of the former. In the case of political science the difference is clarified by using such words as "civics," "citizenship," and "government" to denote those portions of political science which are used in the curriculum. It is perhaps unfortunate that the different levels of each subject are not designated by different words, but the principle is clearly indicated by the terms "political science" and "civics." An increasing amount of social-studies material is being appropriated directly from the community and from the experiences of pupils, a trend which is highly commendable but which involves no fundamental change in or addition to the content of the social studies.

The social studies most frequently taught in the

schools are geography, history, sociology, economics, and civics. Other courses or parts of courses, such as current events, personality development, getting along with others, manners and etiquette, business training, occupations, commercial law, psychology, family relationships, mental hygiene, school orientation, and leadership, whose content is in greater or less degree concerned with human relationships, are often called social studies and assigned to social-studies teachers. The line between social content and other kinds of content cannot be drawn sharply, and the tendency has been to include, rather than exclude, subjects which have any definite social content.

Each of the traditional subjects has appeared in various forms. Thus geography has been labeled as commercial, social, economic, industrial, human, regional, political, and physical. Physical geography *per se*, however, makes no claim to being a part of the social studies. The customary courses in history are ancient, medieval, modern, world, American, national, state, and local. Variations of these, such as Greek, Roman, recent American, and the like, are sometimes taught. Such courses as economic history, Pacific history, Latin American history, current history, agricultural history, and history of the West are frequently offered. Sociology has appeared as social problems, current problems, and rural sociology. Economics has been taught under various titles, such as making a living, everyday economics, and economic problems. Civics has been labeled community civics, economic civics, vocational civics, social civics, citizenship, civil government, government, and international relations. One of the most frequent courses found is problems of democracy, which combines materials from sociology, economics, and civics.

Periods in social-studies research. Technically and logically there could be no research in the field of the social studies prior to 1916, the date when the term received its first official sanction and impetus to widespread usage. In the various subjects there were, of course, numerous studies before that time, as there have been since. Arbitrary designation of periods of research in the social studies tends to imply an oversimplification of the problem, but there is sufficient evidence to justify the tentative listing and brief description of three.

Period I, extending from the 1890's to about 1916, was characterized by emphasis upon theories, formal methods, curriculum proposals, statements of general and somewhat unrealistic objectives, descriptions of extant curriculums, and feeble attempts at systematic correlation bordering on fusion. Notable among the early ventures aimed at crossing subject lines was the publication of A. W. Dunn's *The Community and the Citizen*, in 1907.

Period II, embracing the span of years from about 1916 to about 1933, was characterized by herculean efforts toward objectivity. Though the worship of objectivity was evident and widespread in the study of many aspects of the social-studies field, conspicuous during the period were studies concerned with fusion and unification, attempts to compare methods of

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teaching, the enumeration of objectives, and applications of objective testing to the social studies.

Period III, since 1933, has been characterized by increased attention to the social setting, by efforts to build new curriculums which are more reflective of society and of the functional needs of students, and by attempts to measure and evaluate outcomes beyond the informational. No subject received more attention during the period of the 1930's than that of community study.

It should be recognized that these periods overlap, and that not all trends or characteristics were prominent in every part of the period indicated. For example, studies of the enumeration type have persisted since 1933, and curriculum studies have been numerous in each period. But in spite of the exceptions, the general outlines of the periods as given above have some validity.

Current research is concerned with (a) identification and measurement of intangible outcomes, (b) certain aspects of social learning and the development of concepts through both direct and nondirect experience, (c) efficacy of equipment, particularly visual aids, and (d) development of a great diversity of courses of study, units, and curriculums. Elements being ignored or minimized include methods, evolution of the social studies, and supervision. Neither of these groups of categories should be regarded as exhaustive. Furthermore, perhaps somewhat less faith is being attached to statistical studies, and somewhat more reliance is being placed upon judgments of value. This means, of course, a diminution in research strictly defined. Much current research, in the strict sense, tends to focus on word counts, word lists, objective tests, and other elements which are subject to quantitative handling.

Evolution of the social-studies subjects.¹ The evolution of the social-studies field naturally shows up under the headings of various subjects, since unification of the field is not yet complete.

HISTORY. It is impossible to say when history became a school subject. Scattered references from ancient and biblical history clearly indicate that the earliest civilized people appreciated the civic and religious value of history. In Greek and Roman times hero tales and dramatic episodes were certainly taught in the schools. During the Middle Ages the church introduced the history of its leaders, achievements, and doctrines into the curriculum of its schools. By the time of Comenius (*d.* 1650) history had won a recognized place in theory, and by 1800 it had won a large place in practice. While early courses were episodal, personal, and dramatic, they soon tended to become formal and catalogic. Weise in the seventeenth century and Rousseau and Basedow in the eighteenth century advocated the utilization of contemporary events, the inclusion of social data, and the vitalizing of the narrative by vigorous methods.

In America history gained early recognition in the schools. The first textbook in United States history

appeared in 1787. By 1801 five textbooks in world history, three in American history, and one in ancient history had been published in the United States. In 1827 Massachusetts required the teaching of American history in the larger towns, and by 1830 fifteen textbooks in the subject were available. As late as 1860, however, only a mere fraction of the pupils in elementary schools were studying history, but four New England states and Virginia required the teaching of history at some grade level.

By 1900 history, other than American, was taught to 38 per cent of the high-school pupils in the United States; history had also gained a prominent place in the programs of elementary schools. Although 33 of the 44 states prescribed American history, it is doubtful that these requirements truly reflect the actual situation. The publication in 1899 of the report of the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association marks a landmark in the development of history teaching. This report and the almost universal requirements of colleges quickly forced the high schools to give more time to history. By 1910 over 90 per cent of them offered ancient history and 43 per cent offered English history. About 70 per cent of the schools required American history. History continued to receive emphasis in the elementary grades; by 1910 history was taught in grade 8 in almost every school in the United States. After the report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1916 history began to suffer a definite, though by no means rapid, diminution in both the elementary- and high-school grades. This diminution is still going on, accompanied by a corresponding rise in the attention given to the other social studies.

While the history textbooks of 1900 were quite nationalistic, catalogic, and personal, they were systematic and clear. The traditional episodes, heroes, and topics were given large space. The elementary grades began to break away from this routine story, and by 1920 the trend was also discernible in the high schools. The lessening emphasis upon history has tended to bring about some changes within the subject, such as devoting more space to everyday life, inventions, commerce, agriculture, and especially to recent occurrences.

CIVICS AND GOVERNMENT. The Constitution of the United States early became a topic for school study. By 1830 a number of textbooks were on the market and several academies offered courses in government, law, and the Constitution. By the close of the Civil War "civil government" had become the modal offering. It is probable that by 1890 some such course was offered in a sixth of the schools. By 1900 "civics" had displaced the term "civil government" in about half of the schools where the latter had been taught. As late as 1914, however, only about 16 per cent of the schools taught either of these subjects. The trend toward civics became very strong; by 1923 some of its elements were taught in every grade of many elementary schools, and about three fourths of the schools offered a formal course in grade 8. Government or

¹ This section is based mainly on Tryon (68). See also 51: 17-57.

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advanced civics won a large place in the senior high school, being offered in every school in many states. Community civics has enjoyed a wide popularity in grade 9. Since 1930 it has lost some of its popularity, but no definite trend in the subjects that replaced it can be discerned.

The content of early civics and government courses was concerned chiefly with the study of the structure of government. While some meager attention was given to local and state government, the great emphasis was upon federal government. Books and courses abounded in lists of officers, salaries, terms, and districts. Shortly after 1900 a few textbooks tried to emphasize the functions rather than the structure of government. A. B. Hart's *Actual Government* (1903) and A. W. Dunn's *The Community and the Citizen* (1907) were typical of this trend. The civics and government texts of the past three decades have shown an increasing trend toward functional processes and actual community activities. Those for senior high school tend to stress the work of federal boards, commissions, and agencies, but they have by no means eliminated the descriptions of formal structures and procedures. Though it cannot be demonstrated statistically, it is probable that civics and government as separate courses on the secondary level are becoming less frequent, primarily because of the incorporation of much of the content of these courses into American history, problems of democracy, and other subjects.

GEOGRAPHY. Modern school geography has passed through three periods of development. Before 1800 it was chiefly concerned with maps and charts and the location of land and water forms. It was taught incidentally as a part of navigation and astronomy. Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Krüsi, and Ritter contributed to the development of geography, which by 1800 had changed from a formal study of books and maps to a science concerned with the earth and its inhabitants. The third period may be dated from about 1900 and is one marked by great emphasis upon human geography, although its economic and particularly its commercial aspects are by no means neglected. Throughout most of its history, geography has been regarded primarily as a natural science, but to a limited extent in the second period and to an increasing extent in the third period it has been viewed more and more as one of the social studies.

By 1820 geography was offered in several American schools. Borrowing from Germany, William Woodbridge, Arnold Guyot, and Francis Parker did much to popularize the study of geography in America. Guyot introduced the "human" element in his textbook, published in 1866, and in 1894 A. E. Frye shifted the emphasis from political to physical geography. The regional concept was developed by A. P. Brigham and C. T. McFarlane in 1916. By that year geography was taught in more than 90 per cent of the schools and in several different grades. While geography has received its fullest and most frequent treatment in the elementary schools, it has manifested itself in two high-school courses. From 1890 to 1910 physi-

cal geography enjoyed a wide popularity, particularly in grade 9. After the latter date the emphasis was shifted to commercial geography. There is now considerable agitation for the introduction of regional or human geography into the high school.

School geography has borne the onus of being a rather catalogic subject. As late as 1900 the textbooks abounded in lists of cities, rivers, bays, lakes, mountains, products, industries, and other details. While contemporary geography is still susceptible to this arid treatment, it also lends itself to a functional treatment. Its present emphasis upon man's use of the earth has tended to lessen the stress placed upon physical details. While much of its content is physical, its more significant elements are generally classified as social.

The study of geography has been stimulated and, in many cases, redirected as a result of the war. Some attempts to reintroduce geography into the senior high school have been recorded. The approach to geography from a global standpoint, particularly in the junior high school, has been increasingly popular. Map study has taken on new significance and importance. Finally, an intensified realization of the importance of natural resources has focused attention upon this element in geographic study.

ECONOMICS. The former course name, "political economy," clearly indicates that economics in the schools originated as a study of public welfare. The affairs of an individual were pertinent only if they assisted the economist to understand the welfare of a whole people. Under the name "political economy" the subject was introduced into a few schools as early as 1832. Its popularity varied enormously from state to state. By 1893 only about 5 per cent of the high schools offered the subject. By 1914 more than a fourth of the schools offered "economics," the title which had supplanted the earlier term by 1900. Both the percentage of schools offering economics and the number of pupils taking the subject have varied little in recent years. While there is little evidence to indicate any increase in the popularity of economics as a separate subject, there is abundant reason for saying that the economic content of other courses, such as problems and social issues, is gaining increased attention.

The early courses in political economy were quite formal and arid. College professors tried to simplify Adam Smith, Ricardo, and J. S. Mill and succeeded none too well. The books stressed definitions, logical structure, and economic laws. The four formal divisions, production, exchange, distribution, and consumption, were uniformly repeated. After 1900 many current materials and concrete examples were written into the textbooks, and sections on proposed reforms were included, thus indicating some faith in the possibilities of human control of economic forces.

Newer texts and courses of study in economics are more personal and direct. The teaching of economics has undergone similar changes in character. The economic problems of the consumer have been emphasized particularly; in some schools whole courses

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in consumer economics are being offered. Very much in evidence is increasing concern about public policy and action in economic matters. To this the introduction of units dealing with labor and management, social security, international trade, taxation, inflation, etc. can attest.

SOCIOLOGY. The first appearance of sociology was in 1911. It made slow gains, reaching about 25 per cent of the high schools of the North Central Association by 1919 and about 15 per cent of all high schools in the country. In 1922 only 53,000 students were enrolled in the subject, and no appreciable gain has since been recorded. As in the case of economics, however, these statistics do not tell the whole story, for many topics, elements, and ideas from sociology have been incorporated in such courses as social problems, current social issues, and problems of democracy.

The courses in high-school sociology, until very recently, were largely concerned with factual surveys of the criminals, paupers, feeble-minded, divorced, unemployed, and other problems and ills of society. In other words, the course was one in social pathology, and the normal functions of social institutions were scarcely even indicated. As late as 1947 not more than three or four high-school texts in sociology could be called sociology as distinguished from social pathology. As a separate subject in the high schools sociology has not made an impressive record. It is possible, however, that rather recent emphasis upon normal functions will give it renewed appeal.

PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY. This course, a fusion of economic, political, and social problems, was recommended in 1916 by the Committee on Social Studies and rapidly gained popularity. Some deviations from the original plan of building the course around problems from economics, government, and sociology have made their appearance in recent years. These deviations, variously titled, but often called "modern problems" or "social living," have attempted to combine social needs with pupil needs and in consequence include units on the consumer, personal living, family relationships, and other personal problems, together with units that are more directly social than individual. Courses in problems of democracy and its variants have never been completely integrated. Such integration as has been achieved portrays varying degrees of obvious overlapping among topics (76).

CURRENT EVENTS. The teaching of current events has occupied a role of increasing importance in school instruction during the twentieth century, and the responsibility therefor has commonly been regarded as that of the social-studies teacher. Though there are schools which offer current events as a separate course, the typical practice is to devote one class period each week to the study of current affairs.

OTHER COURSES. Many schools and school systems have introduced fused, integrated, or unified courses designated as "social science" or "social studies." These courses represent attempts to study the social studies as a *field* rather than as *subjects*. In practice they run the gamut of possible social-studies content, both central and peripheral, and so display little uni-

formity. The name has hidden rather than revealed the nature of the content.

Finally, there should be noted the various schemes through which curriculum makers have essayed to provide patterns of general education, often through a body of common experiences called a "core." Though not strictly within the social-studies field they are nevertheless related inasmuch as the curriculums are inevitably sketched in a framework of social concepts, processes, or generalizations. Here again there is little uniformity, though in some instances there is evidence of common original sources.

Present status. The variety of social-studies offerings makes generalization about the present status of the field difficult. However, certain features of the present program are fairly distinct. "Subjects" have disappeared from the primary grades. In the intermediate grades the topic or unit approach is dominant. Grade 9 shows an amazing lack of standardization, but in grades 10, 11, and 12 world history, American history, and problems of democracy respectively are well established.

CENTRAL TENDENCIES. Perhaps a clearer picture of the typical offerings in the social studies (including geography) can be presented in a list of what seem to be the central tendencies in the various grades (74: 32; 75: 49-50; 42; 69).

Grades 1-3	Home, family, school, community, food, shelter, clothing, protection, Indian life, life in other lands, holidays, making a living
Grade 4	Geography, local history and geography, state history and geography, occupations, type studies
Grade 5	American history, industries or occupations, geography of the United States and of North America
Grade 6	European backgrounds, geography of Europe, Asia, and Africa
Grade 7	American history, civics, geography of the United States, social studies
Grade 8	American history, civics, geography, social studies
Grade 9	Civics, world history, ancient and medieval history
Grade 10	World history, modern history, geography, ancient and medieval history
Grade 11	American history, civics, modern history, economics, geography
Grade 12	Problems of democracy, American history, economics, sociology, civics

NEW EMPHASES. Turner (69) found, in an analysis of 1207 courses of study for elementary schools, certain pronounced trends when courses of study which were produced during three periods (1917-24, 1925-34, and 1935-39) were compared. In the primary grades less attention was being paid to holidays, hero stories, general and home geography, and primitive life. Increasing attention was being devoted to home, school, family life, community life, food, clothing, shelter, transportation, and communication. There

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was a tendency to eliminate the study of specific geographic areas in grade 4 and to markedly reduce such study in grade 5. Type studies in geography had largely supplanted the earlier studies of regions and countries in grade 4. The time devoted to history was perceptibly less in the third period. General social-studies topics, such as communication, transportation, discoveries and inventions, arts of man, and recreation, had measurably increased in frequency in the upper grades.

In the secondary school the depression and the war, together with a growing concern about the inadequacy of the social-studies program, have produced a multitude of new courses, units, and topics, as well as increased emphases in older areas. Among this multitude there are some offerings and emphases which appear to be sufficiently widespread to be designated as trends. Most prominent among these are the Pacific area, the Far East, Russia, Latin America, Canada, international affairs, social and economic planning, global geography, and community study. To these may be added greater concern for personal conduct, more consumer education (*q.v.*), and widespread efforts to teach critical thinking (42; 75: 51-55).

Objectives. Objectives in the social studies emerge from value judgments rather than from research. They come from an examination of social policies rather than from objective research. Research, however, has been concerned with objectives in two significant ways. It has guided investigations which have collected and classified objectives, and it has stimulated the analysis of generalized aims into their specific component elements. Research efforts of both types have clarified the thinking of curriculum makers and have tended to make teaching more purposive. It should be clearly recognized, however, that research has been effective only when properly applied, *i.e.* after and not before the fundamental subjective judgments as to purpose have been made.

Statements of the objectives of social-studies teaching have been long, numerous, and diverse. In addition to formal statements, objectives have often been revealed in the content of courses of study, textbooks, and examinations. From listed objectives research investigators have summarized what purposes are claimed; from the latter they have analyzed what purposes are practiced. It should be noted that *claimed* objectives have received much more attention than *practiced* objectives, although the hiatus between the two is a commonplace and the greater significance of the latter is patent.

Summaries of stated objectives classified historically have revealed trends in educational philosophy as it has impinged upon the role claimed for social studies. Thus a tabulation of the aims of teaching civics during the period from 1897 to 1925 shows a decline in emphasis on understanding the structure of government and a corresponding increase on the functions of government and the training of citizens. Between 1888 and 1927 the aims in teaching history shifted their focus from information and mental discipline to citizenship. In the same period there was an increased

emphasis on the "social aims" of American history and upon the objective "to understand the present in the light of the past." The rise of dictatorships in Europe brought about an increased emphasis upon democratic goals as objectives. This changed emphasis was especially noticeable in the social studies.

When current lists of objectives have been studied and classified with a view to discerning patterns of purpose, the results have been discouraging. Investigators have repeatedly commented on the nebulousness of phraseology, the prevalence of slogans and stereotypes, the prodigious number of the statements, and failure to differentiate among the objectives of different courses and different grade levels. When insight and judgment have been brought to bear upon the problems of organizing the tabulated lists, the outcome has often been a relatively logical classification that has at least potential influence on practice. Lists of this type have been set up by Harap (26), Swindler (66), Parker (see 57: 73-93), Beard (9), and Wesley (75: 85-88).

Objectives in the social studies have generally been stated as objectives of subjects rather than of the whole field. In one study or another most of the objectives of education have been claimed for each of the social-studies subjects. This uncritical inclusiveness has made it difficult to distinguish between verbalisms and reality. Each subject should, of course, claim only those objectives which are naturally and logically achievable through its study. Similarly, the field of the social studies should claim only those objectives to which it alone contributes or to which it contributes more effectively than other fields. Using this principle, one must conclude that the social studies make only incidental contributions to such objectives as vocational training, quantitative thinking, personal health, love of literature, linguistic efficiency, understanding one's natural environment, understanding machines, and the like.

Several investigations have attempted to establish the relative importance of different objectives by tabulating them in order of frequency of mention or by submitting lists to competent authorities to rate, but the results have defied generalization. These efforts have perhaps had a limited usefulness in particular situations.

The second type of research dealing with objectives has been, as noted above, the effort to bridge the gap between theory and practice by reducing generalized aims to their specific components. Not content with such a general statement as "good citizenship" as an objective of instruction, some investigators have attempted to find out just what specific elements constitute good citizenship. Toward this end they have made quantitative analyses of the activities of adult citizens, particularly "good" citizens. For example, Bobbitt reported the opinions of 3000 teachers and listed the qualities of a good citizen as recommended in 18 books of essays. Peters collected and analyzed 1000 case studies of good and poor citizens; Alderman tabulated civic deficiencies revealed by court records; Mustard recorded the civic activities normally engaged in by the families of his pupils (see 54: 151, 154-55).

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Although the largest number of studies in the field have analyzed the elements in the "citizenship" objectives, other areas have been similarly investigated. For example, Harap kept a check on the retail purchases of a sample of the general public, and Lorenzen studied books and magazines for evidence on specific forms of socially approved behavior (see 54: 154).

Studies of this type have without doubt been of value to the investigators who have conducted them and to courses of study which have resulted directly therefrom, but the findings have not proved to be widely applicable. They have failed to provide the profession with generally acceptable definitive goals for citizenship education. They have nevertheless served to place a salutary emphasis on the necessity for bringing aspirations down to earth and particularly for expressing them in terms of specific tangible outcomes.

Most investigations which have employed the technique of activity analysis have dealt not so much with objectives as with the content of instruction. In this respect their contribution has been to the problem of selecting subject matter rather than to the determination of objectives although it is recognized that the two processes are not sharply distinguishable.

The objectives of social studies have, until the past two decades, been stated largely in individualistic terms. More recently there has been a noticeable trend toward statements in social terms, and since the late 1930's in democratic terms, a somewhat tardy recognition of the fact that the individual functions in a social milieu. Following is a condensed list of commonly accepted objectives of the social-studies field, worded in terms of pupil purposes. The list is general rather than specific; condensation makes this unavoidable. The mixture of individual and social purposes is obvious.

1. To respect the rights and opinions of others
2. To be skillful in securing, sifting, evaluating, organizing, and presenting information
3. To assume social and civic responsibility
4. To act in accord with democratic principles and values
5. To become a judicious consumer
6. To understand principal economic, social, and political problems
7. To learn about vocational activities and opportunities
8. To understand the interdependence of peoples and groups
9. To become a happy member of a home
10. To make intelligent adjustment to change
11. To get along with individuals and groups
12. To use basic social-studies skills
13. To exercise critical judgment
14. To understand and promote social progress

Selecting curricular content and activities. Criteria for selecting curricular content and activities are varied, overlapping, and confusing. Many of them are inapplicable or partly inapplicable principles such as utility, interests, accuracy, and learnability, while others involve the application of specific techniques

which give unauthoritative results, such as the use of textbooks, courses of study, and committee reports.

Despite much talk about adjusting the curriculum to children's present interests, research enterprises for the identification of those interests have been relatively scarce. The majority of such studies emphasize the instability and variability of interests rather than point to any continuing interests which might guide the curriculum maker. Some studies, to be sure, have provided evidence in support of the general principles that dramatic adventure is high in its appeal to younger pupils and that matters close to the everyday lives of pupils of all ages are generally close to their interests.

Pupils' interests in what were conceived by adults to be needs and problems of youth were investigated by Doane (17). These needs and problems, organized in areas most of which were personal, were augmented by a half dozen subject-matter areas and submitted to over 2000 pupils in grades 8 to 12 in urban and rural areas as "courses." Each student checked 5 courses as "most desired" and 5 courses as "least desired." Personal areas, such as vocational choice and placement, getting along with people, health, and getting along with the opposite sex, generally were rated higher than others. The 3 social-studies courses—current problems, history, and government—ranked fourteenth, sixth, and fifth, respectively, in popularity with students out of the approximately 20 offerings.

In Part II of Doane's investigation pupils were asked to check topics they would like to study, the topics being some of those which would logically be included in the courses of Part I. In the tabulation social-studies topics ranked lower in preference than any personal topics except religion. Doane points out a greater tendency on the part of pupils attending schools with a liberal curriculum to indicate an interest in personal problems in an inventory such as he used.

The study substantiated the view, widely held, that the curriculum should move further in the direction of satisfaction of youth needs and problems of a personal and personal-social nature. It does not, however, provide a reliable guide to selection of social-studies content for at least three reasons: (a) certain of the areas which were designated as most desirable by a considerable fraction of pupils were also designated as least desirable by another considerable fraction; (b) in only a few cases did a clear majority indicate an area as most desirable or least desirable; (c) the low rank assigned to social-studies areas is probably due in large part to poor selection and colorless teaching which have failed to make social problems vital and interesting.

Learnability is an attribute that is highly relative. Evidence from the psychology of learning has failed to provide any clear guidance as to what is learnable and what is not. The great variation in individual differences would seem to preclude any valid generalizations as to the selection of curricular content on any such basis, although the principle of learnability does emphasize the need for adjusting curriculum and materials to classes and to individual pupils. Experience and limited research have shown that almost any fact

or idea can be taught at any grade level, but age and intelligence are important factors conditioning the degree to which a fact may be learned or an idea understood. Pertinent research in this area will be noted below under "Grade placement."

Accuracy is a desirable characteristic of what is taught rather than a criterion for selecting what is taught. The *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, for example, represents material which was as highly accurate as the existing state of knowledge could make it, but the *Encyclopedia* would hardly be used as a guide to the selection of social-studies content. Accuracy of curriculum content is an ideal which few would deny, yet curriculum makers have devoted little attention to assuring the accuracy of the materials they have chosen for social-studies courses. Perhaps they relied upon the accuracy of the textbook writers, who have usually been regarded as scholars in the fields in which they write. That this reliance may have been misplaced was suggested by Blythe's study of the errors and scholarly lags found in textbooks in American history even when the books were written by historians (11), and by a more recent study of teaching materials on Latin America which reported many minor historical errors and errors of ignorance and thoughtlessness, as well as other sins of omission and commission (see 3).

In comparison with the very limited research which has been concerned with determining the interest, learnability, and accuracy of potential curriculum content, the amount of research directed at the utility of that content has been very extensive. Utility has been broadly interpreted to mean both individual and social utility. Thus utility, in one sense, is the converse of needs.

About 1920, when research workers undertook to determine the content which would insure a useful social-studies curriculum, there was nothing new in their purpose, but there was the genius of innovation in their method. Borrowing inspiration from the techniques of job analysis, curriculum workers endeavored to find out objectively what things should be taught in social studies by determining what facts, topics, and ideas were socially useful in adult life.

Earlier studies, e.g. Whitbeck's in 1910 and Wooters' in 1914 (see 54: 147), depended on the consensus of experts for the most important dates and other historical facts. Later investigators under the leadership of Charters, Bagley, Horn, and their students (see 54: 147-48) read samples of newspaper and periodical literature and tabulated the frequency of mention of names, dates, facts, and topics. This procedure was based on the assumption that school instruction should equip children for the adult activity of reading current literature with understanding and the hope that an analysis of such writings would determine materials which should be included in the curriculum. When this technique was criticized on the ground that relative frequencies of mention would change from time to time, two variations were introduced: (a) items were rated for importance on the basis of their persistency over a period of years and (b) writings of

"frontier" thinkers were consulted for clues as to matters likely to be of continuing and increasing importance in years to come. Later studies also dealt more extensively with issues and generalizations than with detailed facts. In addition to newspapers and periodicals, investigators analyzed political-party platforms, books, encyclopedias, poems, cartoons, women's club programs, motion pictures, and socioeconomic statistics. Wilson and Murra (83) reported that more than seventy investigations of this type had appeared before 1938. Three typical studies are described in the following paragraphs.

Washburne and his collaborators (54) undertook in 1922 to determine the "basic facts needed in history and geography" by making a statistical analysis of all historical and geographical allusions found in representative samplings of 14 periodicals and 4 newspapers during the years 1905-1922. Typical of the titles used were: *Atlantic*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Literary Digest*, and *Chicago Tribune*. From these several sources a total of 81,000 allusions were tabulated.

Each item was rated on 4 counts: (a) the number of different articles in which it was mentioned, (b) the gross number of allusions to it, (c) the number of years between the first and last allusion, and (d) the sum of the number of periodicals in which it was mentioned for each of the 18 years studied. Washburne believed that the last criterion was the most valid index of the curricular usefulness of an item.

The final tabulations showed that the most frequent of all allusions was to "America," which was mentioned 5903 times in 1211 articles over a spread of 18 years for a total of 103 periodical years. England was second, France third, and New York City fourth. American Indians ranked twenty-fourth. Theodore Roosevelt ranked twenty-sixth and Abraham Lincoln was thirty-first.

Billings (10), working under the direction of Harold Rugg, undertook to determine the most important generalizations pertaining to the content of the social sciences. He secured the consensus of two hundred experts as to which books represented the outstanding contributions of "frontier thinkers" in the several social sciences. A final selection of 28 books was read and every generalization dealing with human group life was identified and listed. A grouping and refining procedure resulted in a final list of 880 generalizations "basic to the social studies." In his published volume Billings printed these generalizations in full, giving for each its frequency of appearance and the specific source or sources in which it was found. A further analysis of his data led to the identification of each "concept" included in the 880 generalizations and the statistical determination of an index of importance for each of the concepts. Those found "most important" were thought, trade, price, and geographical environment.

In a recent study designed to select geographic generalizations basic to understanding world history, Junge (32) employed a somewhat different technique from Billings and added to it an attempt to determine the learnability of the generalizations selected. An analy-

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sis of a number of books in physical, political, social, and economic geography resulted in a list of 88 generalizations. Fifteen prominent geographers rated these generalizations according to a four-point scale of essentiality and desirability. Eighty of the generalizations were considered essential or desirable by at least 75 per cent of the geographers. Submission of this slightly reduced list to a group of high-school geography teachers for an estimate of learnability eliminated only 6 items. The remaining generalizations were incorporated into a selected world-history course by placing two geography units at the beginning of the course and by interspersing generalizations throughout the history units at what were considered appropriate places.

Although research has failed to delineate the outlines or substance of a generally useful curriculum in the social studies, it has in some individual cases definitely influenced the selection of content, particularly when the research and the construction of the course of study were directed by the same person. The junior-high-school textbooks by Harold Rugg are a case in point. Other textbook writers and curriculum makers have borrowed from research findings to some extent, but apparently never in a comprehensive or systematic way. Perhaps the geography courses have been influenced most by activity-analysis research, as is illustrated by the geography curriculum recommended by the committee of the National Society for the Study of Education in 1933 (57).

Wilson's summary of the limited usefulness of the results of activity analysis points out that it has not revealed the nature and content of a useful curriculum, that the studies are semiscientific, and that it is not possible to utilize the results of the various investigations "... in any objective way in order to produce a satisfactory or complete blueprint of the desirable course of study in the social studies." But he also notes that the studies have made a contribution to curriculum making in that the results have "... some direct application to the selection of content [and that] ... their spirit and technic are undoubtedly excellent spurs to the critical re-examination of curriculum values" (see 54: 155-56). It is probable that activity analysis serves equally well or more satisfactorily as a technique for elimination than as one for selection of content.

Curriculum makers in recent years have tended to use social analysis for selecting content, realizing that, like objectives, content cannot be satisfactorily determined by statistics alone. For example, the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges recommended major themes as follows: for the middle grades, "How People Live"; for the junior high school, "The Building of the Nation"; for the senior high school, "A Democratic Nation in a World Setting"; and for the college, "American Civilization" (see 72: 74-81, 89).

This Committee also recommended "a national fund of common information," restricted in scope, with the expectation that each school would add appropriate regional, state, and local content. The minimum con-

tent is a social necessity. A society is built upon common understandings, and the Committee urged the acceptance of certain specific content, consisting of (a) the 4 themes listed above, (b) 34 events with their appropriate dates, (c) 95 persons, (d) appropriate skills for American history at the various grade levels, (e) appropriate topics for each course, and (f) a specific division of chronological emphasis. The middle grades are to stress the colonial period, 1492-1783; the junior high school, the century 1776 to 1876; and the senior high school, the whole history with emphasis upon the period since 1865.

Recent selection of content has been based in part on the exigencies of the times, particularly since 1941, and in part on subjective efforts to determine courses and units which would meet what educators and others have considered to be the collective demands of pupil needs, social realities, and democratic values. In a measure these selections represent attempts to implement the goals of education outlined by the Educational Policies Commission in *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* and in similar statements by other agencies. They are manifest in rejuvenated subject courses, in fused courses designated as "social living" or by some other title, or in various programs of general education to which the social studies make the major contribution. On the whole, however, the result of this travail has been to point out broad areas rather than specific content.

Recognition of current-events instruction was noted in the description of the social-studies subjects. The selection of current-events content is a continuing problem for the teacher. The use of a current-events periodical by every pupil was shown by one statistical study to be the "best method," but another study showed that "newspaper clippings can be just as effective as a weekly periodical if they are used systematically" (see 45: 203).

Organizing the social-studies curriculum. The principal issue in organizing the social-studies curriculum has been whether to organize in separate courses patterned after the scholarly disciplines of history, geography, economics, political science, and sociology or to create courses which combine elements of two or more of these disciplines. Other issues have been introduced by those who espouse the combination of several subjects, such as history and English, and by others who advocate the removal of all barriers among subjects, at least for the "core" of the curriculum. Those who have chosen the alternative of separate subject organization have been regarded as conservatives. An increasingly large body of curriculum makers have challenged traditional practice by insisting that the historian's history and the economist's economics are not suited to the needs of the immature learner, and that for him the most effective arrangement of materials is one governed by life problems, centers of interest, or generalized concepts which draw upon several or all of the social studies at the same time or which, to carry the principle a step further, draw at once upon other fields as well as the social studies.

At the present time a preponderant majority of sec-

ondary-school social-studies courses and a somewhat smaller proportion of elementary-school courses continue to follow the traditional pattern of separate subjects. In all parts of the United States, however, the increasing popularity of unification within the social-studies field is evident, the unification being of varying degree and variously described as correlated, fused, unified, and integrated. In some places the integration principle has been carried to its logical extreme, and the social studies have lost their identity even as a field and are merged into the total unified curriculum. Many schools have stopped at a part-way point in this approach to the ultimate and have been satisfied with a degree of fusion of two fields.

Further complexity of organization is introduced by the existence of an almost innumerable variety of patterns of arrangement of materials within the several courses, whether combined or separate. These internal patterns are labeled by such terms as the unit plan, the topical approach, the problem approach, the biographical approach, the chronological approach, and case studies.

The relative merits of the several plans have not as yet been definitely established by objective evaluation of their outcomes, though some efforts in this direction have been made. Most experimental studies yield some conflicting and much inconclusive evidence. In general, research has shown that it is possible to attain from combined courses results which are at least as good as and in some cases better than those obtained from separate subject courses when measured in terms of pupil achievement in learning information and acquiring skills (45: 19, 133). Alexander, *e.g.* in an experiment with an integrated course in English, American literature, and United States history, found that students studying the integrated course were superior in informational areas in all three fields when compared with students who studied the courses separately and that, judging from observation, they developed greater interest, broadened their historical concepts, and developed better habits of thought (2). The experimental studies by Wrightstone (86: 128f) attempted to evaluate "intangible outcomes" as well as information acquired, and his results indicate that pupils pursuing integrated curriculums excel others in respect to social attitudes and social behavior. It must be recognized, however, that curriculum organization was not the only variable in the Wrightstone studies, for teaching method also varied between the experimental and control groups. The same qualification must be made with reference to Alexander's study. Finally, though their conclusions are based primarily on subjective judgments, teachers generally favor newer forms of organization once they have been tried.

The college follow-up of the Eight Year Study seems to show that the variety of plans evolved and followed by the thirty participating schools produced, in general, more than average growth in intangibles such as intellectual curiosity, precise thinking, resourcefulness, etc., and somewhat higher academic achievement in college (15). These results, of course, do not point to the superiority of any particular plan, as the

number of schemes among the schools for organizing (and for teaching) content was legion. In fact, within some of the schools no consistent pattern was followed.

It may be, since organization and methods as well as many other aspects of the educational process are almost inextricably linked, that the clear superiority of any one form of organization alone cannot be demonstrated.

Although research has contributed little to the solution of the central problem of the relative merits of the several plans in terms of outcomes, considerable illumination has been shed by studies devoted to historical and logical analyses of the movement toward curricular integration. These studies have shown that the movement is farther advanced in the United States than in other countries, that it has been waxing uninterruptedly for at least three decades, that many of its characteristic elements can be found in educational practice and writing of decades and even centuries ago, that current plans for correlation are less artificial than those advocated by the Herbartians in the 1890's, and that many of the values claimed for integrated courses also apply to subject courses. It is possible that the movement toward integration has so vitalized and enriched the subjects which have remained organized separately that they may take a new lease on life (81).

Grade placement. The problem of determining what curriculum materials to assign to each school grade has two aspects: the provision for orderly sequence of content elements and the assignment of content to a given grade in terms of the level of the abilities, interests, and achievements of pupils. The second of these aspects has attracted nearly all of the very limited amount of research which has been undertaken in this area.

The problem of sequence within the program of studies, sometimes referred to as vertical integration, has been given considerable attention by curriculum theorists and committees. They have proposed schemes for planned repetition and schemes for avoiding repetition; they have insisted on the principles of grading from the near to the remote and from the remote to the near. But all such proposals have been made on *a priori* grounds. Indeed it is doubtful whether the validity of any plan of vertical articulation could be tested by objective research. About all that research has been able to show in this area has been the wide variety of patterns of grade placement found in practice and their divergence from any and all of the theoretical schemes proposed. Wesley (74: 207-12) suggests, as a possible new approach to the matter of grading, the following order of social learning:

1. Things, places, persons, actions, and qualities
2. Occurrences and events in place
3. Relationships among individuals
4. Relationships between man and nature
5. Occurrences in time
6. Relationships between individuals and groups
7. Personal and social codes, standards, and ideals

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8. Relationships among groups
9. Events in chronology
10. Relationships between society and groups

In Rankin's summary of studies bearing upon the grading of social-studies materials the following three approaches are noted: (a) child interest, (b) utility to pupils, and (c) ease of learning (54: Ch. 8). The first two of these have received little attention in the social-studies field. Only with respect to grading materials in terms of their difficulty or ease of learning has any considerable research been reported, and here the concern has been more with skills than with information.

Pupils' abilities to grasp social concepts and to master study skills have been shown to increase quite regularly from grade to grade; it has also been shown that variations among pupils within grades usually are greater than variations between grades (34; 7; 8: 25-27, 97). Some research shows merely that children in certain grades can learn certain materials. There has been no agreement among investigators as to what percentage of achievement on any grade level is most clearly indicative of proper placement. Using figures which vary from 50 to 75 per cent and noting unusual jumps in the learning curve, different students have offered the following conclusions from research:

Concepts expressing relationships involving objects are easier than concepts expressing relationships involving persons. Such abstract concepts as "patriotism" and "industry" are quite beyond the capacity of children in the primary grades. The concept of "zone" in geography is too difficult for use below the sixth grade. It is doubtful that the teaching of chronology or historical periods is effective before the sixth grade.

The relative difficulty of social-studies reading materials can be controlled to some extent by reference to the various word lists which have been developed by research. In addition to the general word lists, several have been compiled for the special vocabularies of the social studies. These are combined in the extensive list prepared by Wesley (33: 502-609).

Pupils can understand historical episodes better than descriptions and exposition.

Ability to read cartoons increases most markedly between the ages of twelve and fifteen, suggesting their desirability as curriculum material on the junior-high level. The ability to understand time concepts develops most rapidly in grades 5 and 6.

Most pupils in the seventh grade may be expected to understand all forms of simple graphs, and some investigators have found that some kinds can be used in grades considerably below that level (7).

Ability to use geographical tools, such as maps, globes, books, and pictures, was studied in grades 4 through 8 by Thorp (see 55: 424), who prepared a table suggesting the grade in which each of 28 tool uses should be introduced.

The social studies offer no clearly discernible order of difficulty, no logical order of learning, no series of progressive laws and principles. The obvious variables

are the individual pupils, the class, the content, the teacher, the equipment, and the method.

Learning in the social studies. Research on the nature of learning has been abundant and fruitful, and the general conclusions which have been reached are reviewed elsewhere in this volume (see CHILD DEVELOPMENT; LEARNING; MOTIVATION). Only those matters which pertain distinctively to social learning will be considered here. In view of the fact that such distinctive matters are narrowly limited, the space here given to research in social learning is far less than would be demanded by the importance to teaching of research in learning.

CHARACTER OF SOCIAL LEARNING. Basic to all learning is experience, and basic to social learning is social experience. By social experience is meant individual observation of human relationships and activities as well as actual participation in group life. Direct experience, however, is clearly limited in its possibilities for acquainting the learner with the wide range of information about society and for developing insight into and understanding of social problems and processes which are essential to effective social competence on the part of the individual. In order to learn about society and how to participate in it, the pupil must depend on the experiences of others as well as upon his own experience. That is, he learns by vicarious experience, and this process takes place almost exclusively through the medium of language and other means of communication. Thus the basic factors in social learning are experience and language. The former involves activities, projects, pupil organizations, and pupil participation in community life. The latter involves vocabulary growth, development of concepts of time, place, and number, and the problems of reading.

The two basic media of social learning—experience and language—must be employed side by side at all stages of social education. Empirical evidence seems to indicate that the lower grades devote major emphasis to direct experience while simultaneously fostering skills in the use of language to identify that experience, and that the secondary school may most profitably reverse the emphasis by greatly expanding the vicarious experiences of pupils through the use of language, which has come to have meaning for them as it has previously been related to their own experience. Direct experience should thus play a supplementary but by no means minor role in secondary-school instruction.

The relative values of direct experience and verbal learning have been variously studied. The former, in such forms as realistic constructive activities and field trips, has been shown generally, but not always, to result in a more vivid understanding with fewer erroneous concepts, but the latter has proved to be much more economical in time and adaptable to a far greater range of social learning. In the study of history the learner must of necessity rely upon other than direct experience, and many phases of the other social studies are almost equally dependent upon vicarious experience. That vicarious experience is heightened and

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more permanent when conveyed by such media as pictures and models, which are closer to reality than words, has been effectively demonstrated. The specific evidence on this last point will be considered below under "Equipment."

EFFECTIVENESS OF INSTRUCTION. Evidence as to the degree to which social-studies instruction has been effective in producing social learning is conflicting, conclusions of investigators naturally being affected by premises as to what the outcomes should be. That there is some growth in knowledge and facts which must be ascribed essentially to instruction is a rather general conclusion (72: 12; 1; 80: Ch. 2); whether this growth is what it should be is a moot point. Outside the area of information Wilson (80: 60), for example, found skill abilities to be inadequately developed, a condition due more probably to lack of instruction than to inadequacies of instruction. Abraham (1) found no evidence that social studies instruction in grades 11 and 12 had produced growth in social understanding or in logical reasoning.

Maucker (41) attempted to measure the effectiveness of instruction in Iowa Class "B" high schools by administering tests of understanding of society and of basic social concepts to some 3000 pupils. He found, as have other investigators, gradual growth in understanding from grade to grade, with tremendous overlapping between grades. Arbitrary dividing lines between poor, fair, and good levels of understanding indicated that only 15.9 per cent of twelfth-grade pupils had "... a high degree of understanding ... of the ideas and concepts measured by the test and that the program of instruction "... fails utterly to attain reasonably acceptable results with at least one third of the students graduated from these schools" (41: 229-34). Maucker concludes that teachers tend to assume a degree of understanding that many students do not possess and that instruction resting on such an insecure foundation had resulted in memorization, verbalization, memorizing facts in isolation, and the forming of vague and erroneous conceptions of social agencies and processes.

That desirable attitudes should be outcomes of social-studies instruction is universally agreed; that such attitudes would develop out of learning facts, from moralizing, or from abstract treatment of attitudes and values has been widely assumed. But learning facts does not necessarily produce attitudinal changes, moralizing may influence in a direction at variance with that intended, and abstract consideration of desirable attitudes is a weak reed. There is ample evidence of undesirable attitudes, prejudice, bias, and the like among children and that these characteristics arise from a variety of sources, tend to be stereotyped, are often highly illogical, and are specific rather than general. Recent research on attitudes in the social-studies area has dealt mainly with two aspects: (a) the measurement of attitudes and (b) means of influencing attitudes. In most instances measuring instruments have consisted of published tests, such as those by Remmers, Thurstone, Wesley, and Wrightstone. Several efforts to expand and improve measuring in-

struments have been made. For example, Dyer (18) secured a number of unprompted responses from 101 ninth-grade pupils by means of a standardized questionnaire, submitted the responses to a group of adult judges who ranked them according to the amount of prejudice which appeared to be exhibited in each response, and constructed a scale therefrom which he reported to be serviceable as a measure of prejudice.

Experimenters have shown that attitudes may be influenced by moving pictures; through radio presentations, of which one investigator reported dramatization to be most effective; through discussion of controversial issues; and by practice in cooperation. The attitudes of teachers have an effect on the attitudes of their pupils (40). There is quite general agreement, though most of it rests on a subjective basis, that direct experience is one of the most potent means of changing attitudes (see 46: Chs. 6 and 7). Brown (12) reports a Bureau for Intercultural Education study involving students of eleven high schools in and around New York City. The personal interview and direct contact were used in this study. Though Brown notes that his evaluation is subjective, he is convinced that the approach "... has great merits in educating the student toward a true understanding of himself, his neighbors, and his nation, and toward attitudes that are in the best sense of the word democratic" (12: 90). See also ATTITUDES.

SOCIAL LEARNING THROUGH DIRECT EXPERIENCE. Although educators have long recognized the importance of the experiential basis of learning, it was formerly assumed that sufficient experience would be acquired by children in their everyday life, leaving to the school only the task of interpreting pupil experience by identifying and expanding it through verbal instruction. Under the influence of such nineteenth-century pioneers as Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Parker and the majority of influential leaders in the twentieth century, emphasis has been placed upon the importance of the school's responsibility for providing pupils with deliberately planned direct experience as an integral part of instruction. In social-studies teaching this has meant the adoption of such out-of-school practices as field trips, clean-up weeks, and community surveys, and participation in community activities, such as traffic control, Red Cross drives, and even local government. Under the same aegis many pupil activities within the school, such as student government, citizenship clubs, and lifelike project work of all sorts, have been encouraged as means of providing the social experience considered basic to social education.

Despite a voluminous literature in the field of experiential learning and its widespread effects upon actual practice, there is a notable lack of direct research concerning its value in terms of social learning. The outstanding contribution to fundamental thinking as to social learning through direct experience is the critical analysis by Horn (30: 393-440), based only slightly upon objective research but replete with evidence from experience and judgment and filled with practical suggestions. Horn clearly shows the unique values to be gained from objects, exhibits, museums, excursions,

and constructive activities. In connection with the latter he analyzes prevalent practices (utilizing in part the evidence from an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Marion Anderson, who investigated construction activities in the social studies, 1880-1930) and rejects those which are deficient in authenticity, which type he claims to be most frequently used. He stresses the values of constructing working models and carrying out actual processes and of the "direct participation in the solution of community problems." His fundamental dicta as to use are (a) that constructive activities have real but limited usefulness and so should supplement but not supplant other modes of instruction and (b) that "each activity should contribute directly to the understanding of some important aspect or process of social life" (30: 417).

The use of the community has long been hailed as an effective means of giving the pupil the direct experience on which he can build a framework of generalizations and concepts as well as a means of equipping him with information of social utility. In the late 1930's this area became the focus of greatly increased emphasis, with social-studies teachers in large numbers reorganizing their curriculums and adapting their methods accordingly. A considerable body of literature has developed, most notable of which is the 1938 *Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (53). This volume, however—indeed, the literature in general—is almost completely devoid of research materials but is filled with descriptions of practices, with testimonials, and with exhortations. Much of the recent advocacy of the use of the community has stemmed from the conviction that the community provides a rich field for the study of cultural matters and the reduction of cultural conflicts. But despite the importance being attached to community study in theory, studies have shown that its potential is being realized only in part (54: 157; 80: 41-49).

Basic to intelligent utilization of community resources is research of the survey type to reveal just what those resources are. Sometimes such investigations are made in advance of use by teachers—for example, that by Moser for Cumberland, Wisconsin (see 75: 416-20)—and sometimes they are an activity of pupils—for example, those done in Greeley, Colorado, under the direction of Michener (see 53: 144-63).

Field trips or excursions are one of the most widely used specific techniques for community study. They are used much more extensively in Europe than in the United States and more in geography than in the other social studies. It was found in 1937 that 39 per cent of a representative sample of social-studies teachers in New York State high schools used field trips in their instruction (80). The few experiments which have dealt with the outcomes of field trips and excursions generally attest to their value in the informational area; fewer studies have been concerned with other outcomes. Clark (16), in a study which involved taking 335 sixth-grade children to an art gallery, a newspaper office, a telephone exchange, and on a train trip, found significant gains in information in every instance but the first. A more elaborate and extensive

project which involved taking 46 members of the senior class at Lincoln School to the Tennessee Valley Region is reported by Fraser (22). Fraser noted, in addition to gains in information, changes in attitudes regarding unlimited individual initiative in farming, gains in ability to generalize regarding land management and power production, and some gains in the ability to apply information and principles, as well as other growth. Wesley (75: 420-22) and Clark (16: 18-19), as well as others, insist on careful planning and careful execution of the excursion and indicate steps which the teacher should take to make the excursion successful. Precautions must be taken to assure the safety of pupils on trips, and the legal responsibilities of teachers and schools should be clearly determined in advance. See *SCHOOL LAW*.

LEARNING THROUGH LANGUAGE. Despite an increased utilization of direct experience, by far the greater part of all social learning in the schools takes place through the medium of language. Whether by reading the printed page or by listening to the spoken word, the pupil's approach to social learning through language involves the same fundamental problem. Success in social studies is closely related to verbal ability. Language makes possible an almost unlimited range and depth for learning, but as actually used in most school situations it has exhibited serious inadequacies as a means of achieving complete and accurate understanding of social realities. "The memorization of empty words and the complacent possession of flagrant misconceptions and vague ideas appear to be more nearly the rule than the exception" (30: 151). The besetting sin of social-studies instruction is verbalism.

The reasons for the deficiencies of language as a means of social learning have been studied extensively, especially with respect to reading. They seem to be principally the following: (a) Words are symbols of reality and inevitably convey different connotations to the reader or hearer from those intended by the user. The difference is minimized when the writer or speaker is an artist in the use of words and when the reader or hearer has a large reservoir of correct associations between words and the realities for which they stand. (b) Among children the failure of words to convey adequate meanings is accentuated by reason of their limited background of experience. (c) Faulty use of words in the schoolroom as well as in the home and on the playground develops wrong associations between words and realities for many children. (d) Very often the social ideas which words attempt to convey are inherently too difficult to be comprehended by prospective learners. (e) Language has sometimes failed as a medium of instruction not because of any inherent quality but because it has been poorly adapted to the requirements of the learner. Specifically, it has too often dealt with abstractions with too little attention to descriptions of concrete details. An expanded list of difficulties relating specifically to reading in geography is provided by Wallace (70).

All of the inadequacies of language are revealed sharply in studies of reading as related to understand-

ing the social studies. These studies indicate, among other things, that improvement in reading ability usually produces greater social-studies achievement; that satisfactory levels of special reading ability, such as skimming and critical reading, are not always associated with satisfactory levels of general reading ability; that the conversation-story form should be more extensively used; that inability to comprehend social-studies materials is due to a complexity and multiplicity of factors; that mere simplification of words does not necessarily simplify ideas; that inadequate experiential backgrounds are a handicap to comprehension; and that proficiency in use of the social-studies language should be sought rather than proficiency in reading alone (88). In addition to the difficulties noted above there are certain difficulties pertaining to the reading process itself. See READING—III.

Vocabulary is important both as an element in reading ability and as a medium for the development and retention of social concepts. Each of the social studies has a distinctive vocabulary, including many common words with special meanings. Various word lists for separate fields and combinations of them have been compiled by Stephenson, Eubanks, Ware, Pressey, and others. Social concepts themselves are generally expressed by single words. A helpful classification of social concepts and a list of the 719 social (excluding time, geographical, and locational) concepts which occur in the first 2000 words of the Thorndike-Lorge word lists have been prepared by Wesley (74: 291-96). The importance of knowing the basic vocabulary of the social studies has been amply demonstrated, e.g. by Pressey, who found a correlation of .79 between scores on tests of social terms and reading comprehension involving those terms and a correlation of .67 between the former test and pupils' marks in history (33: 159-60).

Several studies of the vocabulary burden of textbooks, usually on the basis of word counts and comparisons with the Thorndike lists, report that authors use terms which impede understanding because of difficulty (88: 20-21). In general, these studies show that a large number of "difficult" terms are used in texts and that a very large fraction of the difficult terms are used but once. Comprehension is further handicapped by a plethora of names and dates (see *infra*, "Textbooks"). Reported attempts to lessen vocabulary difficulty have taken two forms, both of which, it was claimed, met with success: (a) the "adjustment" of materials, which involved the substitution of less difficult words and phrases or descriptions for more difficult words, and (b) the amplification of materials. Wilson (84) found that an article originally 300 words in length was comprehended better by children in intermediate grades when expanded to 600 words and then to 1200 words; that amplification was most helpful with regard to concepts further removed from experience; and that amplification did not facilitate understanding of all concepts.

The factors that contribute to vocabulary growth are not as clearly identifiable as the outcomes which result from it. A remarkable constancy of the growth

curve according to age and grade status is typical, although Pressey found evidence to suggest a much greater rate of growth between grades 4 and 8 than between grades 9 and 12, which she attributed to direct instruction in the elementary school and lack of it in the high school. Most other studies have borne out the general principle that direct instruction is the surest way to secure vocabulary growth. A grade-growth study of the meanings of geographical terms, carried out by Eskridge (see 88: 220), indicated the following means of growth of understanding: (a) through an increase in the number of different kinds of meanings, (b) through an increase in general information, (c) through a substitution of basic for associated meanings, (d) through the development of comprehensive meanings, and (e) through the reduction of errors due to confusion of terms having similar sounds, confusion of positions, application of old meanings to new situations, and other causes.

Taking course work in the social studies bears surprisingly little relationship to growth in the technical vocabulary of the social studies. This fact is indicated by the findings in the New York Regents' Inquiry (80: 94); it was even more clearly demonstrated in an unpublished investigation by Murra, who found the correlation between the social-studies vocabularies of college sophomores and the amounts of courses which they had had in grades 9 to 14 varied for different groups from .12 to .33. The same study found a correlation of .70 between scores on the social-studies vocabulary test and a general-intelligence test, thus corroborating other evidence as to the high degree of identity between these two factors. Out-of-school experience is another factor commonly found to bear a significant relationship to comprehension of social terms.

TIME CONCEPTS. Important to the understanding of society is a sense of time, a special kind of concept. Such an understanding has long been an assumed objective of instruction in history, but the prevalence of erroneous and inadequate time concepts among adults raises doubts as to the success of the instruction. Yet the importance of a sense of time is attested by the occurrence of 118 time-words in the first 2500 words of the Thorndike word list (75: 266-67).

A sense of time seems to develop somewhat independently of school instruction, though instruction and intelligence are both factors which may speed up normal growth in this area. Primary children display an almost complete lack of chronological sense; in fact studies indicate that teaching historical periods and chronology is, for most pupils, a waste of time before the sixth or seventh grade and that the study of history in the intermediate grades does not necessarily facilitate the understanding of time (23, 34, 58, 73). This does not preclude, of course, the teaching of *time* as opposed to *chronology*; there are many time concepts which are not chronological which children can learn in the early grades (74: 299).

Research in the development of time concepts has resulted in certain fairly well established guideposts: (a) Children at any grade level can develop concepts of time, but maturation is important and must be con-

sidered carefully when instruction is to be undertaken. (b) There is little if any use in teaching chronology before the child is about 12 years old. (c) The use of time lines and time charts before junior high school is largely a fruitless effort. (d) Students must be given specific instruction designed to improve understanding of time concepts and practice in the use of these concepts if they are to improve measurably, and this instruction must provide active use of time expressions. (e) Exact dates and other specific references to time are superior to general time references in terms of economy of learning and total grasp of chronology. (f) The memorizing of specific date-event relationships and associations without relating dates to one another is almost universally condemned (23; 58; 74: 299-303; 78).

PLACE CONCEPTS. Social-studies instruction is concerned with teaching both a generalized sense of place relationships and a store of knowledge of specific place locations. Geography bears the chief burden of such instruction although it is shared by the other social studies, notably history. Wesley (74: 304) found 121 words of locational and geographic character in the first 2000 words of the Thorndike-Lorge lists. Presley (60) found that entering college students needed to know 115 geographical names in American history and 88 in European history.

Knowledge of geographic terms has been shown to correlate significantly with out-of-school experience. Pupils' actual knowledge in this area has been shown to be sharply deficient, one study showing clearly that pupils actually knew much less than their teachers thought they did. The war, perhaps better than any research project might have done, showed the gaps in Americans' knowledge about specific places. Many of children's erroneous concepts regarding place seem to result from poor ability at map reading. Suggestions pursuant to these findings have pointed toward more direct instruction in map-reading skills and a greater utilization of the globe. The evidence, too, seems to point to the use of definite rather than indefinite terms with reference to distance and location.

Wesley (74: 305) suggests that teaching involving concepts of the sphericity of the earth, such as longitude and latitude, is a waste of time before grade 6 or grade 7. That they may be satisfactorily and successfully taught in grade 7 is reported by Forsyth (20), who developed a series of eight lessons designed to teach scale and network to students on the junior-high level. She reported increased ability to read maps as a result of the special instruction and that the technique could be used equally well in grades 7, 8, or 9.

QUANTITATIVE THINKING. Clear reading and thinking about social matters demands that one be able to deal with concepts of number. However, school pupils, college students, and adults generally have been found notably ill equipped to translate such general quantitative terms as "many" and "very few" into numbers that are at all reasonable for the context used; and conversely, they cannot relate specific quantitative measures into anything meaningful in terms of their experience (30: 189-91).

Research has been emphatic in showing deficiencies in existent quantitative thinking and the slow growth of this ability; it has also shown the very real demands made by textbooks and by situations in adult life for careful quantitative thinking. Scott (63), for example, found in a study of texts used in middle grades that the concept of rank was used from 176 to 1249 times in 4 geography texts and from 6 to 166 times in 6 social-studies texts. Concepts of range and average, though used less often, nevertheless appeared frequently enough to necessitate clear understanding of these concepts. But pupils in grades 6 and 8 who were tested on their understanding of these concepts as well as others, and on their ability to use them, experienced much difficulty. Although most pupils were able to rank a simple table and to select highest and lowest ranks from an unranked table, their performance relative to the other concepts was spotty and displayed vagueness and uncertainty. Although some of the concepts were probably too difficult for the grade level of the pupils, the results nevertheless indicated inadequate learning in an important area of understanding. However, despite the revelations of deficiencies no experiments have yet been reported which reveal the materials and procedures which should be used to develop the ability to think quantitatively, other than that the use of definite terms is more effective than the use of those which are indefinite.

CRITICAL THINKING. The attention which was directed in the 1930's to education against propaganda has more recently been focused on a related matter, critical thinking. The *Thirteenth Yearbook* of the National Council for the Social Studies (52) was devoted entirely to this area and approached the question essentially from the point of view of problem solving through pertinent materials. Although it contains many suggestions and descriptions of practice, it offers little objective evidence as to the efficacy of procedures described.

Perhaps the best summary of research on teaching critical thinking is provided by Glaser (24), who directs attention to the "amount and quality of transfer" as an important characteristic of the "ability to think critically." This transfer occurs through the functioning of "attitudes" (dispositions, work habits, and the like) which Glaser considers aspects of the ability to think critically. "The aspect of critical thinking which appears most susceptible to general improvement is the attitude of being disposed to consider in a thoughtful way the problems and subjects that come within the range of one's experience. An attitude of wanting evidence for beliefs is most subject to general transfer" (24: 75).

Adequate pertinent knowledge and facts are prerequisites for critical thinking, and the process involves the functioning of methods of logical inquiry and reasoning. Thus the components of the ability to think critically include certain of the abilities which have been designated as study skills of the type for which Morse and McCune (43) have developed selected test items.

A social-studies teacher's success in contributing to

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the development of ability to think critically depends upon the method of instruction. He must provide experience in critical thinking, but in addition he must engender pertinent knowledge and facts and make clear the "processes of reasoning and guiding principles" (24: 71). Even more important, he must be effective in stimulating and guiding the development of essential attitudes.

Methods in the social studies. Research dealing with classroom methods in the social studies may be considered under four headings: (a) descriptions of past methods, (b) descriptions of current practice, (c) evaluations of patterns of method, and (d) analyses of specific elements of method.

HISTORY OF METHOD. Social-studies teachers have shown themselves to be remarkably unconcerned with the history of their own profession. This is the more surprising in view of the usual claims of history teachers of the values of knowing the past in order to know the present. Studies in the history of methods have been much fewer than studies in the history of the curriculum, although it should be said that some of the latter, cited above, have cast incidental light on methods. Of the former type of studies the most directly helpful are the articles by Russell (62), which deal with history teaching in New York State from 1830 to 1850, and the Fifth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, *The Historical Approach to Methods of Teaching the Social Studies* (48).

Such evidence as is available yields an array of interesting, detailed facts and a few significant generalizations. One learns, for example, that many of the supposedly recent emphases, such as wide reading and pupil activity, are not so wholly new as is commonly believed. The lag of practice behind theory is a constant phenomenon. The dominance of the textbook and the question-and-answer recitation have been noted for at least a century, although these phases of method have declined slightly in relative importance in the twentieth century with the increased use of more flexible methods. The use of constructive activities in elementary social studies seems to have increased in the 1870's and 1880's and then declined, to be revived again in the 1920's. The source method in history came into wide use in the 1890's and subsequently declined.

CURRENT PRACTICES. Conducting a recitation based on pupils' previous reading of a textbook assignment appears to be the most commonly employed method at all levels between the primary grades and the college. Group activities characterize the primary grades and the lecture method dominates college instruction. Few teachers use the textbook recitation exclusively, but most of them use it more than any other method. Next in popularity are informal discussions led by the teacher, socialized recitations led by pupils, and "supervised" study. Group activity is fairly common in the elementary grades but is rarely found in secondary schools. It is impossible to be at all precise in estimating relative frequencies of the use of particular methods because of the loose use of terminology in this field and the partially conflicting evidence of different in-

vestigations, but it is certain that the faithful use of such pattern methods as the Dalton plan, the contract plan, and the Morrison plan is exceedingly rare. Reference to three of the more important studies will indicate some of the evidence on which the preceding generalizations have been based.

After direct classroom observation of 250 representative Middle Western social-studies classes in grades 7 and 8 in 1933-34, Fenny (19) reported that an observer "would probably see a part of the period devoted to supervised study," but the major purpose of the typical class period would be to ascertain the degree of pupil mastery of textbook information. "There would be extensive questioning by the teacher or preparation for discussion by the teacher, such as an overview. . . . The class would in most cases be organized and dealt with as a whole."

In a questionnaire study of 384 representative social-studies teachers in New York State in 1937 Wilson (80) found that nearly all had used recitation, informal discussion, and directed study at some time or other and that the first two methods were most favored. In terms of total classroom time the teachers reported that 12 per cent was spent in making the assignment, 45 per cent in recitation, 23 per cent in directed study, 11 per cent in testing, and 10 per cent in other activities. Junior-high-school teachers devoted considerably less time than senior-high-school teachers to recitation and more to directed study and other activities. Wilson reported that his direct observation in 200 classrooms emphasized more than the statistics the high frequency of teachers' use of "relatively formal recitation."

"Superior" teachers of the social studies use the textbook recitation much less than teachers generally, according to results of a questionnaire survey of 1764 superior teachers in 1936-37 (55). In reply to a five-option check list of methods only 11.6 per cent reported use of the "textbook recitation." Of the elementary teachers included in the survey, 31.8 per cent used group activities. On all levels a decided preference (57.2 per cent) for group activities was expressed in response to the query: "What technique would you prefer to use if conditions permitted?" In reply to the same question only 1.5 per cent expressed preference for the textbook recitation.

Trends in classroom procedure in the social studies have been moving in the same direction as methodological trends generally. That the extent of change in practice is considerably less than that indicated by the writing *about* methods is demonstrated by comparing such descriptive surveys as are included in the paragraphs above with reviews of the literature, such as those of Hodgkins (29) and Phillips (see 45: Ch. 3). The conclusions of the latter investigator, cautiously based on both practice and the literature, may be taken as an accurate statement of trends at the time: "Methods . . . [in the social studies] bear witness to a widespread interest in such devices as large unit procedures, newer concepts of mastery and mastery techniques, laboratory procedures and individual work, and varying degrees of socialization in place of the

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more formal recitation techniques" (45: 63). Though there are no more recent comparable surveys of method in the social studies it is highly probable that Phillips' summary, with infinitesimal changes, would provide a satisfactory account of the situation today.

EVALUATION OF PATTERNS OF METHOD. Educational theorists and practitioners have filled educational literature with a host of labels and slogans concerning methods. The terminology has become exceedingly confusing, and teachers, other than the original innovators, have taken to using the words without always comprehending the basic realities. (See **METHODS OF TEACHING**.) In view of this confusion an initial task of the careful investigator has been to identify the essence and scope of each of the several proposed schemes of methodology. A useful contribution to the clarification of thinking on this problem is provided by Wesley (75), who has compiled two lists of methods, one a classification of 56 methods under eleven rubrics according to the basis of classification (p. 451-52), the other identifying the "focal point" of each of fourteen methods, as follows (p. 455):

METHOD	POINT OF EMPHASIS
Topical	Synthesized content
Unit	Understanding of significant units
Textbook	Content
Question and answer	Clarification and drill
Lecture	Authoritative presentation
Contract	Differentiated achievement
Block	Differentiated assignment
Laboratory	Achievement through equipment
Problem	Experience in solving problems
Project	Experimental learning
Directed study	Facilitation of learning
Socialized	Social cooperation
Developmental	Pupil growth
Source	Development of critical faculties

In practice each of the above methods partakes of many aspects other than its point of emphasis. Many of its specific elements will also be found as parts of other methods with differing distinctive emphases. This fact, plus the extremely variable usage in terminology among different teachers and writers, makes it inordinately difficult to identify precisely just what is meant by any one method, and it thus becomes even more difficult to compare one method with another. Nevertheless, the attempts to make such comparisons by theoretical analyses, by reviews of the literature, and by more or less "controlled" classroom experimentation have been very numerous. Evidence provided by this research is of essentially the same nature for special methods in the social studies as for general methods (see **METHODS OF TEACHING**); it thus needs only brief attention here.

After reviewing experimental studies up to 1937 Hodgkins (29: 9) concluded that the total evidence was inconclusive. Many differences were small and not consistent. Furthermore, where differences might seem large enough to be statistically significant in

favor of one method or another, allowance must generally be made for inadequate control of potent non-experimental factors (see **EXPERIMENT**) and for failure to measure some important desired outcomes. Other analysts (36; 45: Chs. 1, 3) have reached essentially the same conclusions regarding the experimental results in this area.

Though it appears that no single one of the widely advocated "newer methods" can be shown demonstrably to be more effective than "traditional methods," it must be recognized that the former have been found to be at least equally effective with the latter in terms of commonly measured results. In terms of attitudes, abilities, and actions, pupils who had been taught by the newer methods were found to be definitely superior in the principal studies to date which have attempted careful objective measurement of these outcomes—those by Wrightstone (86, 87).

Furthermore, a change to "newer methods," as they are generally conceived, usually involves much more than a change in "method" itself; with the new methods are usually associated more carefully formulated objectives, more vital and interesting content, greater use of aids to learning, greater attention to concept development, and other matters. In short, the use of "newer methods" ordinarily reflects a considerable change in the point of view of the teacher. There is perhaps no reason to suppose that, should a teacher inject the philosophy and elements of newer methods into traditional methods, the latter would not also become more satisfactory in the realms of both tangible and intangible outcomes. This is not, of course, to disparage newer methods, which, *with all that is usually associated with them*, appear to offer greater probability of achieving the aims of the social studies.

ELEMENTS OF METHOD. Method of teaching becomes more effectively subject to experimentation when considered in terms of its particular component elements than when treated as an entity. Thus some very substantial contributions to good teaching procedure have been made by researchers who have studied the values to be gained and techniques to be used in telling or lecturing, questioning, directing study, and directing pupil activity. Other elements of method might be enumerated, but most of the research findings pertinent to them are reviewed elsewhere in this article, particularly in the sections on "Learning in the social studies" and "Equipment."

Telling or lecturing. Late years have brought a shift in practice away from oral instruction in social studies because of changing opinion as to the proper role of the teacher and evidence from the psychology of learning ("the active nature of the learning process" and other theses). To interpret the latter, however, to mean that lecturing or telling can never be "active" is to pervert the evidence. The evidence on oral instruction, much of which is from experimentation on the college level or from subjects other than the social studies, has been reviewed by Horn (30: 300-26). The outstanding conclusion is that teacher telling, or the "lecture method," probably has considerably more usefulness in elementary- and secondary-school social

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studies than is commonly believed. Some of the specific findings suggest the following: (a) ability to learn from spoken words exhibits a high degree of correlation with ability to learn from printed words, both forms of learning being dependent essentially on competence in understanding language; (b) "students probably learn more from excellent and less from poor lectures than from reading" (30: 314); (c) oral teaching is more effective than pupil reading below the sixth or seventh grade, but if indulged in excessively it will retard growth in reading ability; (d) in the secondary school the lecture has some distinctive advantages and should be used on occasion, but the evidence is not conclusive as to just what are the occasions upon which this means of instruction should be used.

A study by Spencer (65) revealed that retention after oral presentation benefitted from a recognition test given immediately after the presentation, and that, compared with visual presentation, oral presentation plus immediate testing brought a slower rate of forgetting for inferior pupils.

Questioning. Criticisms of the question-and-answer recitation have been legion in recent years, but in most cases criticism has been directed more against its abuses than against the essence of the technique itself. The potential value of questioning for promoting pupil learning and retention has been demonstrated by research. However, it is equally evident from research that these potentialities are rarely realized. Questioning may be utilized effectively to develop pupil interest, thought processes, and understanding, to establish a vital rapport between pupil and teacher, and to test pupil achievements; in actual practice the last-named purpose predominates. Questioning fails to result in maximum effectiveness because of the overuse of questions as mere testing devices, the infrequent use of questions to stimulate and guide learning, the superficial kind of questions asked, the excessive rapidity of questioning, and the maldistribution of questions by directing them at the most ready talkers rather than the pupils most needing stimulation and guidance. Questioning may be the most potent instrument for combating superficial verbalism, but in practice it tends to encourage it. The most adequate treatment of the problem of questioning with reference to the social studies is that by Horn (30: 336-57).

Directing study. Success in the social studies is dependent to a considerable degree upon ability to study. One investigator reported a higher correlation between achievement and this ability than between achievement and either intelligence or time spent (45: 95). Others have found deficient study techniques to be a significant cause of failure. Despite these facts many teachers still leave study to the whims and habits of pupils to be pursued outside of school hours, although a marked trend of the past several decades has been the increase of time devoted to directed study in the classroom.

Since about 1925 teachers have increasingly used printed workbooks as aids for pupils in their study of the social studies. The antecedents of the workbook were the study outline, the map book, and the note-

book. The factors which contributed to the almost phenomenal rise of the workbook in the late 1920's and early 1930's are said by Tryon to have been: the supervised-study movement, increased emphasis upon individualization of instruction, and the attack upon the traditional recitation (68). The extent of the movement is shown by questionnaire studies of frequency of use (out of 245 schools surveyed in 1930, 103 used workbooks in history and 80 in geography) and by a count of the number published (over 200 in social studies other than geography during the period 1927-37). Apparently fewer new publications of this kind appeared each successive year after about 1935, but no recent evidence as to the extent of their use is available.

Social-studies workbooks have been classified as to kind and content by Wesley (75) and Tryon (68). Both writers have commented on the wide variations in quality of workbooks. Tryon examined 161 different volumes and found that the principal and predominant pupil exercise required was filling in blanks.

The value of class study as compared with home study has been demonstrated in nearly all investigations of the problem. The evidence here is more convincing than on almost any other conclusion from experimental comparisons of method. Pupils of inferior and average ability have usually been found to profit more from "supervised" study than have abler pupils. However, the specific techniques of most value for supervised study have not been so clearly delineated. See DIRECTING STUDY.

With respect to the organization of time for class study many specific proposals have been made. Their relative effectiveness apparently depends upon a great variety of other factors, such as the length of the class period, the amount and arrangement of equipment, and the type of assignment used. When flexible, large-unit assignments are utilized, class study for several entire class periods in succession seems to attain its maximum effectiveness. When class study is alternated with recitation, a divided period with study during the first half and recitation during the second has been shown to be superior in the field of the social studies to a divided period with a recitation-study sequence.

With respect to specific techniques for teaching how to study, there is little agreement from either opinion or research. Most frequently recommended is the use of study-guide questions and exercises which follow closely specific reading material. Porter (59), however, in a recent study which involved over 1000 eighth-grade pupils and five different schemes for the use and placement of study questions, reported that no one of the plans produced significant results which were superior to those achieved through a single purposeful reading.

The value of workbooks as instructional aids remains uncertain despite several investigations. While a majority of the loosely controlled experiments involving workbooks seem to indicate that superior achievement results from their use, other similar studies have yielded inconclusive results. Collected opinions on the

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value of workbooks in the social studies have been contradictory, although most of them are generally favorable. As between printed workbooks and teacher-made work sheets, a sharp controversy has raged, with the preponderance of opinion favoring work sheets.

Directing pupil activity. Evidence from the field of educational psychology emphasizing the "active nature of the learning process" has affected the method of teaching the social studies markedly. It has strengthened the cause of the project method, the socialized recitation, and others of the newer "patterns of method," but its more widespread influence has been in the extension of the idea that all pupil learning derives from pupil activity. In accord with this concept the teacher's responsibility becomes the selection, stimulation or assignment, and direction of specific activities in which pupils engage as a means to the ends of knowledge, understanding, and skill.

The term "activity" has acquired two meanings. In the broader sense it embraces every act through which the pupil learns. In a narrower sense it refers only to overt acts and processes. The latter usage of the term has the longer history, indicating an aspect of instruction long associated with good social-studies instruction and sanctioned by a succession of educational authorities. To be sure, the so-called "constructive activities," used to supplement social-studies instruction, have not always enriched it, as the study by Anderson (30: 414f) shows.

In the broader sense of the term reading, writing, and listening are all considered activities as much as talking, acting, and making things. In 1929 Wilson (82) compiled an exhaustive classified list of activities for learning the social studies. Using a revision of the Wilson list, Price (61) conducted an extensive investigation to determine the merits of the several specific activities and types of activities. He found overt activities more favored by dull pupils than by bright pupils, and he noted that teachers use to excess, in terms of pupil preference, such "passive activities" as listening and reading.

Equipment. Since the beginning of the present century increasing emphasis has been placed on the utilization of physical equipment to aid in social-studies instruction. This trend has unquestionably been affected by such factors as transient enthusiasms, fads, and producers' salesmanship. Educational research, however, has also played a significant role in pointing out the need for equipment and in showing its effectiveness in the improvement of instruction (see 82: 154).

Research has usually been focused on one item of equipment at a time. A few investigations have embraced either the whole field or at least large portions of it. Many of the more comprehensive studies have been concerned with the collection and utilization of a wide assortment of teaching aids under the name of the "social-studies laboratory." An influential study in this group was that of Baldwin (6), which reported an extensive survey of social-studies equipment available in grades 9 to 12 in a number of representative schools. He found a high degree of uniformity of equipment for

the several social subjects and thus came to the conclusion that all equipment for these subjects should be assembled in a single departmental laboratory. He recommended a number of specific items of equipment for each subject and each grade level. Numerous writers have described their social-studies laboratories and the "laboratory method," but their enthusiasms have lacked objective substantiation.

A review of the numerous studies which have appraised objectively the value of tangible teaching aids in the social studies is impressive for the high percentage of positive findings revealed. An increased use of equipment in teaching the social studies usually results in increased social learning by pupils.

THE TEXTBOOK. Textbooks in the social studies have changed in recent years in response to research in the curriculum and in social learning as well as research dealing directly with the textbooks themselves. Thus textbooks are increasingly organized on fusion and unit bases and may legitimately claim to place more stress on functional materials and less on detailed facts than the texts of a generation ago. They also tend to include more concrete content, especially in the lower grades, better maps and pictures, and much more reading matter. Both style and vocabulary of textbooks have been better adapted to pupils' abilities as a result of research in grade placement, as have also type size and format.

Despite these improvements in textbooks research has demonstrated that most books are still too difficult for the majority of pupils in the grades for which the books are intended, that maps and pictures are inadequate and frequently are not well integrated with the written material, and that too little is included in the way of concrete example. These criticisms of textbooks apply more aptly to those for the secondary level than to those for the elementary grades, but even on the latter level many of them appear to be too difficult. The criticisms apply more generally to books in history than to those in geography, though not universally.

Scholarly accuracy has also increased, though one thorough investigation found serious lags between the first announcement of a new discovery or viewpoint in American history and its incorporation in American-history textbooks. Stereotypes of peoples in other nations occur in too great frequency. It has been found, too, that textbooks in social and economic problems do not change sufficiently rapidly to reflect social and economic changes.

The size of textbooks has increased markedly in recent years. American-history books for senior high schools have doubled in length since 1910. Eight economics texts published in the 1920's were found to average 447 pages in length, whereas four books published in the late 1930's averaged 589 pages. Recent books in all five history courses commonly taught in the secondary schools have averaged over 800 pages. These increases in size correspond favorably with research recommendations as to the superior merits of extensive reading, the paucity of library resources, and the expansion of the curriculum, and have met with the approval of teachers.

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The number of pictures, maps, charts, and graphs in textbooks has increased even more rapidly than the size of the books. The median number of pictures in six recently published American-history texts, for example, was 251. Geography texts continue to lead the field, however, with respect to the number of such visual aids.

Authors of social-studies texts continue to be predominantly college teachers of subject matter. A study made in 1940 showed that of 84 authors of social-studies textbooks 38 were college professors of academic subjects, 22 were secondary-school teachers, 5 were college professors of education, and 19 were school administrators and others. The tendency toward multiple authorship has been especially noticeable in recent texts (75: 377).

The increase in size of textbooks, although generally approved, has meant in some cases an increase in the number of topics treated rather than a fuller treatment of prevailing topics. This characteristic has been shown to limit seriously the effectiveness of a text and is generally condemned. The need for simplification of texts is evident in the results of numerous studies of vocabulary, dates, names, and style. Research has shown that textbook vocabulary burdens are often too great for intended grade levels, that too many technical terms are introduced, that too many difficult words and technical terms are used only once or very few times, that dates and names occur in unreasonable profusion, and that there is entirely too little agreement among authors as to dates and names of importance, a condition which the Report of the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges (72) attempted to meliorate by suggesting minimum lists of dates and names. The studies have shown a need for simplification, and in some cases they have shown that such simplification is possible and effective in terms of pupil learning.

The selection of textbooks is typically in the hands of school administrators, although teachers are playing an increasing role. A summary of the evidence on selecting textbooks in the social studies (44: 60-74) yielded the recommendations that (a) comprehensive, objective criteria should be determined in advance, (b) a small number of books should be tentatively chosen after examination, and (c) final selection should be made only after classroom tryouts.

THE SOCIAL-STUDIES LIBRARY AND THE READING PROGRAM. The importance of a rich and plentiful supply of books other than the textbook has long been recognized in connection with social-studies instruction. Several lines of evidence from research converge to give sanction to this emphasis. Furthermore, research has repeatedly shown that existing supplies of books were inadequate. When secondary-school teachers in New York State were asked by Wilson to indicate their most pressing needs for the improvement of instruction, the reply which outranked all others was "more books" (80).

In practice, teachers' use of "collateral" or "supplementary" readings has lagged far behind the recommendations of educators and the findings of research.

With special reference to social-studies library books Horn wrote in 1937: "There are today very few schools, either elementary or secondary, that have equipment to meet the standards set up forty years ago." The lag is due not only to the lack of books but also to teachers' failure to use available books. To a limited extent, however, wider reading is on the increase in the social studies, a trend paralleling the decline of dependence on a single textbook.

Prevailing practices with regard to the reading program in social studies have been surveyed in a number of investigations. They agree in reporting that a majority, but considerably less than all, of social-studies teachers make systematic use of readings in books other than the textbook. Greatest use, and, according to Swindler, "most efficient use," is made in schools of medium size (see 45: 163). Kimmel found that in New York State the lowest quantities of reading per pupil were to be found in schools with enrollments of under 150 and over 2500 (35).

Purposes claimed for collateral reading have been variously collected and analyzed. Although the acquisition of information is the common aim, the high ranks given to the development of interest (especially in connection with biography and historical fiction) and abilities (use of library, basic references, and the historical method) are notable.

The value of wide reading as compared with little or no reading has been fairly well established. Most significant findings in this respect are those of Good and others in which extensive reading was found to be more effective generally than intensive reading even when the unit of time was equal for both methods (30: Ch. 5). The relative values of different types of readings are much in need of further investigation.

Methods employed in the reading program must be guided largely by teacher judgment and experience, for experimental evidence is slight and inconclusive as to its management. Two general principles commonly emphasized, though supported only indirectly by research, deal with the need for (a) effective motivation of the reading assignment and (b) careful adjustment of quantity, kind, and difficulty of readings to individual differences. Carefully prepared collections such as that of Carpenter (14) are helpful to teachers in this respect.

Research on the problems of assigning and checking readings has been confined to descriptive and statistical surveys of prevailing practice. Norton, Kimmel, and others have found that teachers (a) more often make reading assignments by topics than by specified pages, (b) most frequently try to arouse interest in reading books by reading excerpts or giving résumés or annotations and by making constant reference to the book, (c) have pupils give oral reports more frequently than written reports, and (d) commonly use reading cards as well as oral and written reports to check pupils' readings and less commonly use individual conferences and formal examinations for this purpose (see 45: 140-42; 35).

Characteristics of books for the social-studies library and the bases for selecting them have been given

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considerable attention, and the results of research in this direction have been commonly expressed in specific bibliographies of reading references. Such bibliographies are numerous and vary greatly as to kind and merit. The book lists included in social-studies textbooks have been shown to be characteristically of poor quality although some texts contain the best lists to be found anywhere. There is no agreement among authors of textbooks or compilers of separate lists as to what particular books should be included. Among the most important earlier bibliographies of books for the social-studies library were those of the 1921 committee headed by Hill (28), the 1924 committee headed by Foster (21), and the lists by Swindler (66). In special areas are the list of historical fiction by Logasa (38); biography by Wilson and Wilson (79), Ireland (31), and Logasa (37); American history for slow learners by Carpenter (14); American regions by Logasa (39); and geography by Branom (57: Ch. 26).

MAPS. The map is of almost indispensable value to the teacher of social studies. Maps have long been used extensively in geography, and their use in history and the other social studies is on the increase. More and better maps appear in newer textbooks. Most of the experiments dealing with maps and globes and their use have been carried on in connection with the study of geography. Out of these studies have come a number of conclusions or findings (see 20; 57; 74: 246-48; 75: 351-59):

1. Children make numerous errors in trying to read maps.
2. The reading of maps must be taught specifically and concretely.
3. Pupils can be taught to read maps with a fair degree of accuracy.
4. Without guidance pupils do not know whether the *word* or the *dot* indicates the location of a city on the map.
5. The use of a scale of miles, the directions, the reading of latitudes and longitudes, the direction of river flow, and the key symbols for locating a place on a map all require specific instruction.
6. The use of outline maps is an effective aid to learning.
7. Real maps and hypothetical maps both have teaching values.
8. Children do not require a knowledge of directions until they study geography.
9. Such terms as zone, latitude, and longitude require specific teaching.
10. Numerous studies prove that ignorance of common geographic facts is widespread.
11. All geographic errors common to pupils are also common among teachers.
12. Many students have not mastered the simplest descriptive ideas to be gained from a map by the time they enter junior high school.
13. Teachers should not take for granted pupils' ability to read maps.
14. It is doubtful that teaching difficult concepts relating to sphericity of the earth is productive before grades 6 or 7.

CHARTS AND GRAPHS. The use of graphic representation of social data has increased significantly in adult reading materials in recent years, pointing to the need for increased school instruction in the use of graphs and charts. The growth in the number of charts and graphs in textbooks is a reflection of this need. Though investigations have failed to point clearly to the value of charts and graphs as learning devices, there can be no doubt as to the social utility of knowing how to use such devices. According to Horn (30: 388) evidence indicates that the effectiveness of instruction may be increased by employing graphical representation, provided students have learned to read charts and graphs.

Several studies, taken together, seem to indicate that graphical interpretation can be taught at any grade level, depending, of course, upon the degree of difficulty of the type of representation. For example, it has been shown that unit pictographs and developmental picture charts can be used in the first grade. Those graphs whose use and interpretation require arithmetic skills and concepts should not, obviously, be introduced before the skills and concepts are acquired (see 7).

PICTURES. The use of pictures of all kinds has been shown to increase interest, understanding, and retention. The need for careful selection and classroom use of pictures is emphasized, however, by studies revealing pupils' misconceptions gained from pictures and the ineffectiveness of their random use. Pictures in textbooks have been found to vary greatly in number, quality, caption, and articulation with textual matter. Several studies agree in saying that pupils must be taught to read pictures. Others claim that the full possibilities and potentialities of textbook pictures have not been realized because teachers assume picture-reading ability on the part of their pupils and that pupils will automatically integrate written and pictorial material. In most respects pictures in geography books are better than those in other texts, but the marked improvement in recent books in the entire social-studies field is noticeable. In general the value of pictures as aids to learning has been shown to vary inversely with age, intelligence, and reading ability. Colored pictures seem to be superior to black and white pictures, at least in the teaching of third-grade geography.

The relative merits of different kinds of pictures have not been adequately studied. It is probable, and some research indicates, that the textbook illustration, the loose print, the opaque projection, the lantern slide, the still film, the silent motion picture, and the sound motion picture each has its distinctive advantage for specific purposes. For this reason it is rather specious to attempt to compare one kind with another as to *general value*. Thus experimental comparisons between lantern slides and moving pictures, between sound and silent motion pictures, and between sound films and film strips have yielded conflicting evidence. Horn (30: 369-70) has stated that "the trend of opinion now seems to be that the results obtained from still pictures approximate those from motion pictures except

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where movement or a sequence of events is to be portrayed."

Research in the field of motion pictures in the social-studies field seems to indicate that they (a) contribute to accuracy and meaningfulness of pupils' concepts, (b) stimulate the imagination, (c) are particularly helpful in informational areas to pupils of low ability and in the area of atmosphere to pupils of superior ability, (d) contribute to retention, (e) help to increase and maintain interest, (f) cause pupils to participate more frequently in discussions, (g) interfere with learning time concepts and chronology, (h) make their greatest contributions where people are concerned and in the areas of causal, economic, and social relationships, (i) are more effective if the class has been prepared for the showing of the film, and (j) tend to be more effective when they are shown more than once and are adequately discussed (30: 373-75; 85). A number of films for American history and problems courses have been evaluated by Hartley (27). See also **AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS.**

RECORDINGS. Though many claims for the use of recordings have been made, little experimentation has been reported in the social-studies field to prove or disprove the assertions. An extremely limited amount of evidence, not enough to support any broad generalizations, indicates that estimates of the effectiveness of recordings, with respect to some outcomes, may have been optimistic.

RADIO. The use of the radio in the social-studies classroom has certain advantages: it brings experiences from the outside world which could never otherwise have been provided; it develops interest and attention; it permits listening to "spot" news under teacher control and direction; it is useful in influencing attitudes, particularly because of its dramatizing possibilities. On the other hand, the radio should be used advisedly. It tends to dull the higher mental processes and make listeners less critical. It should be viewed as a supplementing, not as a supplanting, device. It is subject to many of the same limitations as other forms of oral presentation. Finally, it appears that if the same information in printed form is equally well arranged and adapted to pupils who are to make use of it, the radio should not be used (30: 327-34; 77). See also **RADIO EDUCATION.**

Evaluation and measurement. Evaluation includes the entire process through which teachers attempt to appraise pupil achievement and pupil growth. Measurement is a more limited process through which one secures objective data such as scores. Evaluation is an inclusive term which embraces all kinds of objective measures and subjective appraisals.

General surveys of social-studies testing may be classified into two groups: those which are primarily historical and descriptive and those which are evaluative and analytical. Studies of the former type have furnished an abundance of specific information, of which only part can be mentioned here.

The chief means of measurement in social studies for generations were oral quizzing during the recitation period and essays written in response to stated

questions. The first published objective tests in the social studies appeared in history and geography between 1914 and 1920. Literally scores of new tests appeared in the 1920's. After 1930 fewer new tests were published; an increasing use was made of new editions of established series of tests, such as the *Iowa Every Pupil Tests* and the *Cooperative Tests*, and of general achievement tests which contained sections on the social studies. Between 1936 and 1939 a valuable aid to teachers in the form of four *Bulletins* containing collections of test items in the fields of American history, world history, economics, and government was made available by the National Council for the Social Studies (4). For the most part the items in the several tests and these *Bulletins* deal with informational and/or skill outcomes. Recently some attention has been given to the "measurement of understanding," a not-too-well-defined term which has been used to cover both tangibles and intangibles (see 56: Ch. 5).

Social-studies teachers were slow to adopt objective testing. Wilson (80: 178) reported in 1938 that only half of a number of social-studies teachers who were queried favored objective tests; one third preferred essay tests and the remainder liked a combination of the two. The most common types of objective test items which have been found in teacher-made tests have been completion, short-answer, and true-false.

Serious inadequacies in testing practices in the social studies have repeatedly been revealed by surveys. Essay-type examinations have been shown to lack reliability under customary conditions. (See also **EXAMINATIONS.**) Objective examinations, on the other hand, although characteristically possessing a higher degree of reliability than essay examinations, have often been found lacking with respect to validity. This deficiency, though more common in teacher-made tests, has also been found to exist with respect to some published tests. Most serious deficiencies are: (a) faulty item construction which permits testees to select the correct response on the basis of grammatical consistency, verbal association, or other irrelevant clues; (b) too little use of the multiple-choice form, which has been shown to be the most generally useful in social studies; (c) encouragement of memoriter learning of isolated facts; (d) the narrow range of outcomes tested, often consisting of emphasis on factual information at the expense of insights, understandings, and attitudes.

But research has made a positive contribution to testing in social studies; it has demonstrated how many of the common faults may be corrected. Essay examinations can be improved by clear and definite phrasing of questions, by establishing specific criteria for judging answers, by restricting the outcomes to be measured by each question, and by concealing the name of the test writer from the test reader until a mark has been determined. Objective tests may be improved by close attention to careful construction, such as avoiding verbal and grammatical clues, providing clear directions, arranging items in order of difficulty, and the like; by applying statistical procedures for item analysis and test revision; and by phrasing

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items to avoid textbook language and memoriter responses. See TESTS, ACHIEVEMENT.

The movement for the measurement of noninformational or "intangible" outcomes of instruction in the social studies, which has played a major part in testing research since the late 1930's, originated in research findings which showed that usual testing practices were confined to a very limited number of objectives of the social studies. This very obvious deficiency led research workers to undertake the study and development of appropriate instruments of measurement and of other devices for evaluation of instruction. The areas of evaluation and measurement of intangible and partly tangible outcomes in the social studies to which attention has been given fall into five categories, several of which are partially overlapping: attitudes, study skills, critical thinking, interests, and behavior. In each of these areas at least several evaluating devices (not all of which are restricted to the social studies) have been published, and many others have been constructed and utilized by researchers for special purposes and experiments.

The development of attitude scales had an origin independent of the social-studies field. Social-studies teachers as a whole have been slow to make use of the good instruments available, such as the *Wrightstone Scale of Civic Beliefs*, the *Remmers Master Attitudes Scale for the Measurement of Attitude Toward any Social Institution*, and the *Eight-Year Study Scale of Beliefs*. See ATTITUDES.

Much progress has been made in the measurement of study skills. Significant contributions include the *Iowa Every Pupil Tests of Basic Study Skills*, Wrightstone's *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities*, the extensive collections of selected items prepared by Morse and McCune (43), and a number of the tests developed in the *Eight-Year Study* (see 64). These instruments have demonstrated the possibility of measuring objectively such elusive factors as the ability to use books, to interpret maps, graphs, and pictures, to understand generalizations, to make associations, to apply principles, to acquire data, to make discriminations, to evaluate sources, and other abilities. Measures of the ability to think critically, in a large sense a composite of a number of the abilities noted above, are represented by Wrightstone's *Test of Critical Thinking in the Social Studies*, the *Watson-Glaser Test of Critical Thinking*, and similar instruments, e.g. those developed at Cornell University and those used in the *Eight-Year Study*.

Attempts to appraise the area of interest have taken the forms of interest inventories and check lists and interviews. Behavior has generally been evaluated through the interpretation of rating scales, anecdotal records, and other recorded observation of conduct. (See, *re* evaluation and measurement in social studies 50; 51; 52; 56; 64; 75: 551-89).

Teachers should recognize that different tests which they may use in social-studies classes measure different functions. The usual custom of accepting a single rating as an appraisal of pupil achievement is open to serious criticism; it ignores other aspects of the achieve-

ment and growth of the individual pupil. The assignment of a rating for each of several factors is recommended, the recommendation being based on evidence as to the correlations which obtain among different types of tests. For example, tests of information, and particularly vocabulary tests, have been found to be closely related to general intelligence and general reading ability. Attitude tests typically give low positive correlations with both intelligence and information tests. The fact that low correlations have been found between reliable tests of the essay and objective types suggests that they are measuring essentially different factors.

The social-studies teacher. In this discussion the "social-studies teacher" will be considered to be one who devotes all or most of her time to the social-studies field; this definition automatically eliminates elementary-school teachers as they are teachers of all fields. Social-studies teachers, so defined, until the last two decades, were teachers who had been trained in history primarily, with minors in other social sciences or other fields. A few had majors in one or another of the other social sciences. But more recently many institutions have established social-studies or "broad fields" majors, usually requiring some degree of concentration in one subject (often history) and a pattern of supporting courses in several of the other social sciences. Typical requirements are 24 semester hours in history and 20 hours distributed among economics, political science, sociology, geography, or any two or three of these subjects. Such plans represent appreciable advances over the older concentration patterns, at least from the standpoint of the preparation of a teacher who is increasingly being required to take note of the whole social-studies field in her teaching.

The training of social-studies teachers is complicated by the problem of teaching combinations. It has been reported that two thirds of all social-studies teachers have some assignment outside the field—usually English, but every conceivable combination has been recorded. However—and certainly from the standpoint of the social studies—a more serious aspect of the teaching-combination problem is the very frequent assignment of teachers whose primary training is in other fields to social-studies instruction. There appears to be a widespread belief that anyone who can read can teach social studies, a condition which probably contributes in no small measure to the prevalence of verbalistic and unsatisfactory learning in social studies.

The large number of social-studies teachers who pursue or have pursued graduate work indicates a rising standard in the field. However, graduate-school practice of closing advanced courses to nonsocial-studies majors because of the lack of prerequisites tends to drive many teachers into more education courses and into the specialization of their undergraduate work. Graduate schools thus tend to prevent many social-studies teachers from securing a broad training on the higher level and from correcting deficiencies which handicap their teaching. There is some slight trend, however, toward permitting gradu-

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ate students to major in a "broad field" similar to that of their undergraduate work. The need for individualizing the graduate-study programs of social-studies teachers has been demonstrated by Kerbow (49: Ch. 3).

There is evidence of a certain amount of in-service growth of social-studies teachers, but this growth is not at all even. In New York State Wilson (80: Ch. 7) found that 36 per cent of a group of social-studies teachers were engaged in some kind of experiment; that nearly 17 per cent had written for publication; that a third had traveled widely in the United States; and that a fifth had been to Europe. On the other hand, Wilson also found that nearly one quarter did not read a daily newspaper, that social-studies teachers rarely belong to civic organizations or participate in public affairs, that they often write theses outside their field, and that many read few professional or critical magazines. Hawkinson (see 75: 27) found that fewer than one half of a large group of teachers read even one professional book a year. The increasing professional consciousness of large numbers of teachers, however, is evidenced by the increasing membership of such national organizations as the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council of Geography Teachers and by the rapidly multiplying local organizations, as is shown by the investigation made by Oagley in 1939 (53: Ch. 8). By 1946 at least half of the states boasted state councils for the social studies, and there were in addition several regional councils and an indeterminate number of local groups.

Some studies of the traits of good teachers of social studies have been made, although such traits cannot be clearly distinguished from traits of good teachers in general. A study of student-teacher relationships by Bush (13) indicated that the most effective relationships existed when the teacher was well adjusted to her job; when she had keen insight into and an objective attitude toward students and student behavior; when she possessed a favorable attitude toward counseling, a fair and sympathetic point of view, an adequate grasp of the subject, the ability to make the class seem valuable and to explain and assist, and a likable personality; when she had purposes, social beliefs, and interests similar to those of her students and a belief that her students were well adjusted academically; and where the students had abilities and achievement in accordance with their potentialities.

A valuable summary of studies of the traits of good teachers of the social studies, which concludes with a self-rating scale derived from the findings, has been made by Michener (49: Ch. 1). See also *TEACHER EDUCATION—V. CURRICULUM*.

Needed research. When one summarizes what is definitely known in the teaching of the social studies, he is impressed by the paucity of convincing conclusions. They seem to be so few, so tentative, and so limited as to leave the whole field wide open for the repetition of previous studies and the indefinite expansion into other areas, topics, and problems. The following paragraphs are intended merely to direct attention to some of the more urgent needs of research.

The history of textbooks, equipment, and methods needs to be expanded. Studies of the influence of the report of the Committee of Seven or of any other report would be useful contributions. Surveys of contemporary offerings seem to meet an appreciative response. Although their value is not very enduring—they are soon absorbed into a larger picture—they furnish temporary guidance and help to define the direction of developments.

Research can never determine objectives, but syntheses of opinions, analyses of social trends and purposes, and descriptions and classifications of educational purposes can be significant and influential. Frequent inquiries into the state of opinion need to be made, and the adjustment of educational to social objectives is a never-ending task. Further research in the selection of curricular content can be directed toward making general principles, such as utility, learnability, and accuracy, specifically workable, toward the repetition of extant techniques, and toward the discovery of new techniques. Future research might well be directed toward the discovery of more inclusive, workable, and acceptable techniques, toward harmonizing objectives and curriculum content, and toward selecting materials which clearly reflect the needs of the community in which they are to be used. Perhaps the most fruitful results will come from numerous attempts to apply available principles and techniques to local situations.

Further research in curricular organization of the social studies might well be directed toward the evaluation of existing forms as well as toward evolving new ones. Materials organized in such a manner as to meet the approval of scholars, teachers, and curriculum makers might be tried out, measured, and contrasted with other forms. Determining the relative merits of a unit and a topic might not lead to conclusive results, but it would at least be more convincing than mere arguments. Additional research in grade placement might well be focused upon the arrangement of sequential materials and the application of them to a few selected pupils throughout a period of years, upon further work in the difficulties of words and skills, and upon a closer study of the stages of child development. The discovery of special tastes, interests, and abilities offers some hope of a negative as well as a positive nature. While no definitive results in terms of the grade assignment of materials can be expected, it should be possible to locate some elements, if not topics and problems, in terms of the primary and intermediate grades and the junior and senior high schools.

In the social studies there are many aspects of the problem of learning which are in need of further research, and many of them have the appeal of specificity and tangibility of returns. Further analyses of the relation of both first-hand and vicarious experience to learning and of the function of language in social learning at the several grade levels should be fruitful, and such special elements as time, place, vocabulary, and study tools, such as maps, graphs, tables, etc., need further illumination. The relative effectiveness of

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group and individual experiences is not completely understood.

Research has demonstrated the complexity of method and the futility of comparing various pattern methods. However, the effects of equipment and the value of devices can probably be ascertained quite definitely, and such elements as questioning, rules for studying, pupil reports, etc. can probably be segregated and evaluated. The problems of the social-studies library and reading lists for particular courses should receive recurring attention.

The most needed research in social-studies testing is that which would deal with attitudes and other outcomes not satisfactorily measured by conventional paper-and-pencil tests. The measurement of conduct, such as choosing radio programs, reading books, and participating in community activities, should receive more attention, for conduct is a measure of the effects of teaching and as such it deserves the attention of test makers.

Research relating to current events, community study, and propaganda is inadequate. The fundamental value of knowing current events remains to be demonstrated. The parts which the teacher and the pupil should play in community study need clarification. The development of methods to offset propaganda has not yet reached a satisfactory stage.

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RESEARCH REVIEW TWELVE

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SOCIAL STUDIES

SOCIAL STUDIES. The term "social studies" is used in this article to indicate those areas of the school curriculum whose content deals directly with human relationships. Economics, for example, deals with man's cooperative plans for making a living. On the other hand, arithmetic is not one of the social studies because its content deals with numbers and processes and is only incidentally social. All subjects presumably meet human needs and so have social purposes, but only in the social studies is the content as well as the purpose social.

For the sake of clarity it is well to distinguish the social studies from the social sciences. The latter are those bodies of scholarly materials which deal with human relationships. They are the products of research, thought, and experience. On the other hand, the social studies are those portions of the social sciences which have been selected for instructional purposes. The teacher of the social studies must be a student of the social sciences, but, fully as important, he must reorganize and simplify them for his students. In other words, he must be a curriculum maker.

The social studies derive their names and, in general, their content from the social sciences. Thus history, economics, geography, and sociology are terms used to designate subjects which are both social sciences and social studies although the latter are supposed to be simplified and reorganized portions of the former. In the case of political science the difference is clarified by using such words as "civics," "cit-

zenship," and "government" to designate those portions of political science which are used in the curriculum. It is perhaps unfortunate that the different levels of each subject are not designated by different words, but the principle is clearly indicated by the terms "political science" and "civics."

It should be carefully noted that the term *social studies* refers to a field and not to a subject, and most emphatically it does not refer to a particular kind of organization. The term cannot properly be limited to any scheme or type of fusion or integration. Neither should the term be used in the singular. Confusion is certain to follow the use of the term *social study*, for when thus used it loses its significance as designating a field and becomes an innocuous phrase which can properly, although vaguely, be applied to botany, arithmetic, or any other study.

The social studies most frequently taught in the schools are geography, history, sociology, economics, and civics. Other courses, such as current events, personality development, manners, occupations, business training, commercial law, etc., are sometimes called social studies and are often assigned to the social-studies teachers. The line between social content and other kinds of content cannot be drawn sharply, and the tendency has been to include, rather than exclude, subjects which have any definite social content.

Each of the traditional subjects has appeared in various forms. Thus geography has been labeled as commercial, social, economic, industrial, human, regional, political, and physical. Physical geography, however, makes no claim to being a part of the social studies. The customary courses in history are ancient, medieval, modern, world, and American. Variations of these, such as Greek, Roman, recent American, etc., are sometimes taught, and state and local history has made quite an extensive place for itself in both the elementary and high-school grades. Such courses as economic history, Pacific history, Latin American history, current history, agricultural history, and history of the West have occasionally been offered. Sociology has appeared as social problems, current problems, and rural sociology. Economics has appeared under various titles, such as making a living, everyday economics, and economic problems. Civics has been labeled as community civics, economic civics, vocational civics, social civics, citizenship, civil government, government, and international relations. One of the most frequent courses found is problems of democracy, which combines materials from sociology, economics, and civics.

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Research in the social studies. Logically there could be no research in the field of the social studies prior to 1916 when the phrase received its first official sanction and its momentum toward widespread usage. There have been, of course, numerous studies in the various subjects both before and after that date. The designation and description of periods of research tend to imply an oversimplification of the problem, but there is sufficient evidence to justify the tentative listing of three.

Period I, extending from the 1890's to around 1916, was characterized by emphasis upon theories, formal methods, curriculum proposals, statements of general and somewhat unrealistic objectives, and descriptions of extant curriculums.

Period II, from about 1916 to about 1933, was characterized by herculean efforts toward objectivity. Research was concerned with dozens of techniques for the selection of curriculum content, varied forms of curriculum organization, textbooks, courses of study, history and status of the curriculum, comparative methods, objective tests, equipment, supervision, vocabulary studies, teacher preparation, and problems of learning.

Period III, since 1933, has been characterized by an increasing emphasis upon the social setting, social rather than individual objectives, testing outcomes beyond information, and continual study of curriculum organization.

It should be recognized that these periods overlap, and not all trends are prominent in every part of the period indicated. For example, many studies of the enumeration type persisted after 1933, and curriculum studies have been numerous in each period. In spite of these exceptions the general outlines of the periods as given above have some validity.

The problems studied are not easily classified, but probably a third of reported studies deal with the history and status of the various social-studies subjects, with objectives, and with the selection of curriculum content. Research in the social studies has followed the trends and patterns of research in the whole field of education. Many investigators merely used the social studies as a field in which to employ the techniques and principles which were developed in education.

Current research is paying less attention to (a) methods, (b) techniques and devices, (c) textbooks, and (d) the history of the social studies in the curriculum. Greater stress is being placed upon (a) the social setting, (b) characteristics of pupils, (c) attempts to measure intangible outcomes, and (d) the opinions of both pupils and teachers. Less faith is being at-

tached to statistical studies, and more reliance is being placed upon judgments of values. This means, of course, a diminution in research strictly defined. Current, as well as past, research tends to focus upon peripheral rather than fundamental problems.

Development of the social studies as school subjects. *History.* It is impossible to say when history became a school subject. Scattered references from ancient and biblical history clearly indicate that the earliest civilized people appreciated the civic and religious value of history. In Greek and Roman times heroic tales and dramatic episodes were certainly taught in the schools. During the Middle Ages the church introduced the history of its leaders, achievements, and doctrines into the curriculum of their schools. By the time of Comenius (fl. 1650) history had won a recognized place in theory, and by 1800 it had won a large place in practice. While early courses were episodic, personal, and dramatic, they soon tended to become formal and catalogic. Weisse in the seventeenth century and Rousseau and Baselow in the eighteenth century advocated the utilization of contemporary events, the inclusion of social data, and the vitalizing of the narrative by vigorous methods.

In America history gained early recognition in the schools. The first textbook in United States history appeared in 1787. By 1801 five textbooks in world history, three in American history, and one in ancient history had been published in the United States. In 1827 Massachusetts required the teaching of American history in the larger towns, and by 1830 fifteen textbooks in the subject were available. As late as 1860, however, only a mere fraction of the pupils in elementary schools were studying history, but four New England states and Virginia required the teaching of history at some grade level.

By 1900 history, other than American, was taught to 38 per cent of the high-school pupils in the United States; history had also gained a prominent place in the programs of elementary schools. Although 53 of the 44 states prescribed American history, it is doubtful that these requirements truly reflect the actual situation. The publication in 1899 of the report of the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association marks a landmark in the development of history teaching. This report and the almost universal requirements of colleges quickly forced the high schools to give more time to history. By 1910 over 90 per cent of them offered ancient history; and 43 per cent offered English history. About 70

¹ This section is based mainly on Tryon (35).

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per cent of the schools required American history. History continued to receive emphasis in the elementary grades; by 1910 history was taught in grade 8 in almost every school in the United States. After the report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1916 history began to suffer a definite, though by no means rapid, diminution in both the elementary and high-school grades. This diminution is still going on, accompanied by a corresponding rise in the attention given to the other social studies.

While the history textbooks of 1900 were quite nationalistic, catalogic, and personal, they were systematic and clear. The traditional episodes, heroes, and topics were given large space. The elementary grades began to break away from this routine story, and by 1920 this trend was also discernible in the high schools. The lessening emphasis upon history has tended to bring about some changes within the subject, such as more space devoted to everyday life, inventions, commerce, agriculture, and especially upon recent occurrences.

Civics and government. The Constitution of the United States early became a topic for school study. By 1830 a number of textbooks were on the market and several academies offered courses in government, law, and the Constitution. By the close of the Civil War "civil government" had become the model offering. By 1890 it is probable that some such course was offered in a sixth of the schools. By 1900 "civics" had displaced the term "civil government" in about half the schools where the latter had been taught. As late as 1914, however, only about 16 per cent of the schools taught either of these subjects. The trend toward civics became very strong; by 1923 some of its elements were taught in every grade of many elementary schools, and about three fourths of the schools offered a formal course in grade 8. Government or advanced civics won a large place in the senior high school, being offered in every school in many states. Community civics has enjoyed a wide popularity in grade 3. Since 1930 it has lost some of its popularity, but no definite trend in the subjects that replace it can yet be discerned.

The content of early civics and government courses was chiefly concerned with the study of the structure of government. While some meager attention was given to local and state government, the great emphasis was upon federal government. Books and courses abounded in lists of officers, salaries, terms, and districts. Shortly after 1900 a few textbooks tried to emphasize the functions rather than the structure

of government. A. B. Hart's *Actual Government* (1903) and A. W. Dunn's *The Community and the Citizen* (1907) were typical of this newer trend. The civics and government texts of the last twenty years have shown an increasing trend toward functional processes and actual community activities. Those for senior high school tend to stress the work of federal boards, commissions, and agencies, but they have by no means eliminated the descriptions of formal structures and procedures.

Geography. Geography had an early development as a pure science and as an aid to navigation and exploration. Modern school geography has passed through three periods of development. Before 1800 it was chiefly concerned with maps and charts and the location of land and water forms. It was taught incidentally as a part of navigation and astronomy. Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Krüsi, and Ritter contributed to the development of geography, which by 1800 had changed from a formal study of books and maps to a science concerned with the earth and its inhabitants. The third period may be dated from about 1880 and is one marked by great emphasis upon human geography although its economic and particularly its commercial aspects are by no means neglected. Throughout most of its history geography has been regarded primarily as a natural science, but to a limited extent in the second period and to an increasing extent in the third period it has been viewed more and more as one of the social studies.

By 1820 geography was offered in several American schools. Borrowing from Germany, William Woodbridge, Arnold Guyot, and Francis Parker did much to popularize the study of geography in America. Guyot introduced the "human" element in his textbook, published in 1866, and in 1891 A. E. Frye shifted the emphasis from political to physical geography. The regional concept was developed by A. P. Brigham and C. T. McFarlane in 1916. By that year geography was taught in more than 90 per cent of the schools and in several different grades. While geography has received its fullest and most frequent treatment in the elementary schools, it has manifested itself in two high-school courses. From 1890 to 1910 physical geography enjoyed a wide popularity, particularly in grade 9. After the latter date the emphasis was shifted to commercial geography. There is now considerable agitation for the introduction of regional or human geography into the high school.

School geography has borne the onus of being a rather catalogic subject. As late as 1900 the textbooks abounded in lists of cities, rivers,

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Days, lakes, mountains, products, industries, and other details. While contemporary geography is still susceptible to this arid treatment, it also lends itself to a functional treatment. Its present emphasis upon man's use of the earth has tended to lessen the stress placed upon physical details. While much of its content is physical, its more significant elements are generally classified as social.

Economics. The former course name, "political economy," clearly indicates that economics in the schools originated as a study of public welfare. The affairs of an individual were pertinent only if they assisted the economist to understand the welfare of a whole people. Under the name "political economy" the subject was introduced into a few schools as early as 1832. Its popularity varied enormously from state to state. By 1893 only about 5 per cent of the high schools offered the subject. By 1900 the word "economics" had generally replaced the older term. By 1914 more than a fourth of the schools offered economics. Both the percentage of schools offering economics and the number of pupils taking the subject have increased only slightly in recent years. While there is little evidence to indicate any increase in the popularity of economics as a separate subject, there is abundant reason for saying that the economic content of other courses, such as problems and social issues, is gaining increased attention.

The early courses in political economy were quite formal and arid. College professors tried to simplify Adam Smith, Ricardo, and J. S. Mill and succeeded none too well. The books stressed definitions, logical structure, and economic laws. The four formal divisions were uniformly repeated. After 1900 many current materials and concrete instances were written into the textbooks, and sections on proposed reforms were included, thus indicating some faith in the possibilities of human control of economic forces.

Sociology. Sociology is the latest arrival among the social studies. Its first appearance was in 1911. It made slow gains, reaching about 25 per cent of the high schools of the North Central Association by 1919 and about 15 per cent of those of the entire country. In 1922 only 53,000 students were enrolled in the subject, and no appreciable gain has since been made. As in the case of economics, however, these statistics do not tell the whole story, for many topics, elements, and ideas from sociology have been incorporated in such courses as social problems, current social issues, and problems of democracy.

The courses in high-school sociology, until

very recently, were largely concerned with factual surveys of the criminals, paupers, feeble-minded, divorced, unemployed, and other problems and ills of society. In other words, the course was one in social pathology, and the normal functions of social institutions were scarcely even indicated. As a separate subject in the high schools sociology has not made an impressive record. It is possible, however, that the recent emphasis upon normal functions will give it renewed appeal.

Other courses. Other courses which might be regarded as belonging to the social studies, such as parliamentary and commercial law, current events, and variations or phases of the other social studies, are frequently offered. None of these has gained wider acceptance than problems of democracy. This course, a fusion of economic, political, and social problems, was recommended in 1916 by the Committee on Social Studies and rapidly gained wide popularity. Six states made it a required course, and it has persisted in spite of its unenthusiastic treatment by teachers. The title indicates why it has taken over much of the content formerly caught in economics, government, and sociology.

Various schools have introduced fused, integrated, or unified courses designated as "social science" or "social studies." These unrevealing terms have been used to indicate that the classes were trying to study a *field* rather than a *subject*. In actual practice they have had no uniform content. The name has hidden rather than revealed the nature of the content.

Present status. Perhaps a clearer picture of the typical offerings in the social studies can be presented by listing what seem to be the central tendencies in each grade (38: 136).

Grade 1	Community, holidays, Indians, civic virtues
Grade 2	Community, holidays, primitive life, civic virtues
Grade 3	Historical stories, primitive life, geography, biographies
Grade 4	Early American history, state or local history, geography
Grade 5	Early American history, later American history, geography, civics
Grade 6	Recent American history, European backgrounds of American history, geography
Grade 7	Early American history, geography, civics
Grade 8	Recent American history, American history, civics
Grade 9	Civics, ancient and medieval history

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- Grade 10 World history, modern history
- Grade 11 American history, economics, social problems
- Grade 12 American history, problems of democracy, economics, sociology, American government

Objectives. The objectives of social-studies instruction cannot be determined by research. They are expressions of judgment as to values and so emerge from philosophy rather than from research. Research has, nevertheless, been concerned with objectives in two significant ways. It has guided investigations which have collected and classified objectives, and it has stimulated the reduction of generalized aims to their specific component elements. Research efforts of both types have clarified the thinking of curriculum makers and tended to make teaching more purposive. It should be clearly recognized, however, that research has been effective only when applied in its proper role, *i.e.* after and not before the fundamental subjective judgments as to purpose have been made.

Statements of the objectives of social-studies teaching have been long, numerous, and diverse. In addition to these formal statements objectives have often been revealed in the actual content of courses of study, textbooks, and examinations. From listed objectives research investigators have summarized what purposes are claimed; from the latter they have analyzed what purposes are practiced. It should be noted that *claimed* objectives have received much more attention than *practiced* objectives although the hiatus between the two is a commonplace and the greater significance of the latter is patent.

Summaries of stated objectives classified historically have revealed trends in educational philosophy as it has impinged upon the role claimed for social studies. Thus a tabulation of the aims of teaching civics during the period 1897 to 1925 shows a decline in emphasis on understanding the structure of government and a corresponding increase on the functions of government and the training of citizens. Between 1888 and 1927 the aims in teaching American history shifted their focus from mental discipline to citizenship. In the same period there was an increased emphasis on the "social aims" of American history and upon the specific objective "to understand the present in the light of the past."

When current lists of objectives have been studied and classified with a view to discerning patterns of purpose, the results have been most discouraging. Investigators in this area have repeatedly commented on the nebulousity

of the verbiage, the prevalence of slogans and stereotypes, the prodigious number of the statements, and the failure to differentiate among the objectives of different courses and different grade levels. When insight and judgment have been brought to bear upon the problems of organizing the tabulated lists, the outcome has often been a relatively logical classification that has been at least potentially influential on practice. Lists of this type have been set up by Harap (10), Swindler (33), Parker (see 28: 73-93), Beard (4), and Wesley (38: 170-72). In general they have suggested the classification of objectives under such headings as: (a) knowledge and understanding; (b) skills, abilities, and habits; (c) ideals and attitudes.

Several investigations have attempted to establish the relative importance of different objectives by tabulating them in order of frequency of mention or by submitting lists to competent authorities to rate, but the results have been so inconsistent that it is impossible to generalize about them. These efforts have perhaps had a limited usefulness in particular situations.

The second type of research dealing with objectives has been, as noted above, the effort to bridge the gap between theory and practice by reducing generalized aims to their specific component elements. The research technique here employed has been activity analysis. Not content with such a general statement as "good citizenship" as an objective of instruction, some investigators have attempted to find out just what specific elements constitute good citizenship. Toward this end they have made quantitative analyses of the activities of adult citizens, particularly "good" citizens. For example, Bobbitt reported the opinions of three thousand teachers, and listed the qualities of a good citizen as recommended in eighteen books of essays. Peters collected and analyzed one thousand case studies of good and poor citizens; Alderman tabulated civic deficiencies revealed by court records; and Mustard recorded the civic activities normally engaged in by the families of his pupils (see 26: 151, 154-55).

Although the largest number of studies in this field have analyzed the elements in the "citizenship" objective, other areas have been similarly investigated. For example, Harap kept a check on the retail purchases of a sample of the general public, and Lorenzen studied books and magazines for evidence as to specific forms of socially approved behavior (see 26: 154).

Studies of this type have without doubt been of definite value to the investigators who have

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conducted them and to courses of study which have resulted directly therefrom, but the findings have not proved to be widely applicable. They have failed to provide the profession with generally acceptable definitive goals for citizenship education. They have nevertheless served to place a salutary emphasis on the necessity for bringing aspirations down to earth and particularly for expressing them in terms of specific tangible outcomes.

Within recent years considerable stress has been placed upon correct behavior as an objective in the social studies. If listening to good radio programs, reading good books, maintaining suspended judgment, manifesting an interest in civic affairs are worthy objectives, it might seem feasible to break them into a great number of specific acts and teach them directly. Such research as has appeared on this theory has been unable to distinguish between general qualities or attitudes and specific acts. Then too it seems that conduct is the measure of teaching success, the standard of achievement, rather than the objective. More extensive, specific, and reliable research will have to be done on this aspect before the possibilities of this approach are fully realized.

Most investigations which have employed the technique of activity analysis have dealt not so much with objectives as with the content of instruction. In this respect their contribution has been to the problem of selecting subject matter rather than the determination of objectives although it is recognized that the two processes are not clearly distinguishable.

Selection of curriculum content. In constructing a social-studies curriculum the crucial step, after determining objectives, is the selection of materials of instruction. For the purpose of selecting those specific materials and activities which will prove effective in achieving the educational objectives, various criteria have been proposed. Chief among these are: pupil interests or needs, learnability, accuracy, and utility. In the application of these criteria research procedures have been utilized to a limited extent only, but some notable efforts to utilize them more fully have been made.

Despite much talk about adjusting the curriculum to children's present interests, research enterprises for the identification of those interests have been scarce indeed. Such studies as have been reported emphasize the instability and variability of interests rather than point to any continuing interests which might guide the curriculum maker. Some studies, to be sure, have provided evidence in support of the general principles that dramatic adventure is high in its appeal to younger pupils and that

matters close to the everyday lives of pupils of all ages are generally found to be close to their interests, but interest as a criterion of selection remains in the realm of theory and good intentions.

Learnability is an attribute that is highly relative. Evidence from the psychology of learning has failed to provide any clear guidance as to what is learnable and what is not. The great variation in individual differences would seem to preclude any valid generalizations as to the selection of curricular content on any such basis although the principle of learnability does emphasize the need for adjusting methods to individual pupils. Experience has shown that almost any fact or idea can be taught at any grade level, but age and intelligence are important factors conditioning the degree to which a fact may be learned or an idea understood. Pertinent research in this area will be noted below under "Grade placement."

Accuracy of curriculum content is an ideal that few would deny, yet curriculum makers have devoted little attention to assuring the accuracy of the materials they have chosen for social-studies courses. Perhaps they have relied upon the accuracy of the textbook writers, who have usually been regarded as scholars in the fields in which they write. That this reliance may have been misplaced is suggested by Blythe's study of the errors and scholarly lags found in textbooks in American history even when those books were written by historians (6). That the accuracy of social-studies content taught in the schools will increase as standards for teacher education are raised is the hope expressed in many quarters.

In comparison with the very limited research which has been concerned with determining the interest, learnability, and accuracy of potential curriculum content, the amount of research directed at the utility of that content has been truly prodigious. In this area the enormous volume may be ascribed to (a) the inherent importance of utility as a criterion, (b) the widespread educational-reform movements of the twentieth century which have demanded more "functionality" in the school program, and (c) the tangibility of "utility" as it is commonly interpreted.

About 1920 when research workers undertook to determine the content which would insure a useful social-studies curriculum, there was nothing new in their purpose, but there was the genius of innovation in their method. Borrowing inspiration from the techniques of job analysis, curriculum workers endeavored to find out objectively what things should be taught in social studies by determining what facts,

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topics, and ideas were socially useful in adult life.

The first studies, e.g. Whitbeck's in 1910 (see 26: 147), depended on the consensus of expert opinion for the most important facts and historical dates. Later investigators under the leadership of Charters, Bigley, Horn, and their students (see 26: 147-148) read samples of newspaper and periodical literature and tabulated the frequency of mention of names, dates, facts, and topics. Their assumption was that school instruction should equip children for the adult activity of reading current literature with understanding, and their hope was that an analysis of that literature would determine the materials which should be included in the curriculum. When this technique was criticized on the grounds that relative frequencies of mention would change from time to time, two variations were introduced: (a) items were rated for importance on the basis of their persistency over a period of years and (b) writings of "frontier thinkers" were consulted for clues as to matters likely to be of continuing and increasing importance in years to come. Later studies also dealt more largely with issues and generalizations than with detailed facts. Others also studied, in addition to newspapers and periodicals, political-party platforms, books, encyclopedias, poems, cartoons, women's club programs, motion pictures, and socioeconomic statistics.

The number of independent investigations of this type has been very large. Wilson and Murra (44) report that more than seventy had appeared before 1938. Generalizations covering the extensive and diverse findings of these studies are rendered virtually impossible because of the specific nature of the data and the variability of terminology and bases of classification. The nature of the outcomes of such studies may perhaps best be illustrated by reference to two typical investigations: one by Washburne, representing the earlier approach which dealt with specific facts found in newspapers and periodicals (26) and one by Billings which dealt with generalizations found in books by frontier thinkers (5).

Washburne and his collaborators in 1922 undertook to determine the "basic facts needed in history and geography" by making a statistical analysis of all historical and geographical allusions found in representative samplings of fourteen periodicals and four newspapers during the years 1905-1922. Typical of the titles used were: the *Atlantic*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the *Literary Digest*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. From these a total of 81,000 allusions were tabulated.

Each item was rated on four counts: (a) the gross number of allusions to it, (b) the number of different articles in which it was mentioned, (c) the number of years between the first and last allusion, and (d) the sum of the number of periodicals in which it was mentioned for each of the eighteen years studied. Washburne believed that the last criterion was the most valid index of the curricular usefulness of an item.

The final tabulations showed that the most frequent of all allusions was to "America," which was mentioned 5903 times in 1211 articles over a spread of 18 years for a total of 103 periodical years. England was second, France third, and New York City fourth. American Indians ranked twenty-fourth, with 814 allusions in 210 articles over a spread of 18 years for a total of 75 periodical years. Theodore Roosevelt ranked twenty-sixth with 71 periodical years, and Abraham Lincoln was thirty-first with 72 periodical years.

Billings (5), working under the direction of Harold Rugg, undertook to determine the most important generalizations pertaining to the content of the social sciences. He secured the consensus of opinion of two hundred experts as to which books represented the outstanding contributions of "frontier thinkers" in the several social sciences. As a result he selected twenty-eight books in the fields of geography, economics, sociology, government, culture, law, and anthropology. Each of these books was carefully read and every generalization dealing with human group life was identified and listed. The more than 4600 statements so secured were then combined, grouped, and variously refined until a list of 880 generalizations "basic to the social studies" was secured. In his published volume Billings printed these generalizations in full, giving for each its frequency of appearance and the specific source or sources wherein it was found. A further analysis of his data led to the identification of each "concept" included in the 880 generalizations and the statistical determination of an index of importance for each of the concepts. Those found "most important" were: thought, trade, price, and geographical environment.

Although research studies have failed to delineate the outlines or substance of a generally useful curriculum in the social studies, they have in some individual cases definitely influenced the selection of content, particularly when the research and the construction of the course of study were directed by the same person. Thus the content of the junior-high-school textbooks by Harold Rugg was determined in part by the findings of a series of

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objective studies designed for the purpose; and a course of study for economic geography in New York City was built upon an activity-analysis study. Other textbook writers and curriculum makers have borrowed from research findings to some extent, but apparently never in a comprehensive or systematic way. Perhaps geography courses have been influenced most by activity-analysis research as is illustrated in the geography curriculum recommended by the committee of the National Society for the Study of Education which reported in 1933 (28).

The limited usefulness of three decades of effort in this field was well summarized by Wilson in the 1936 *Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence*: "Activity-analysis, as it has been applied to the social studies, has not succeeded in revealing the nature and content of a useful curriculum. The studies reported are semiscientific in character, consisting primarily of the objective tabulation of subjective data. . . . It is not possible to synthesize the results of the various investigations. . . . in any objective way in order to produce a satisfactory or complete blueprint of the desirable course of study in the social studies. The investigations are complexly different as to specific purpose, as to point of view, as to technique, as to scope, and as to results. Nevertheless, they constitute a distinct contribution to curriculum-making. . . . Not only have their results some direct application to the selection of content for the course of study, but their spirit and technique are undoubtedly excellent spurs to the critical reexamination of curriculum values" (see 26: 155-56).

Organization of content. During the past two decades curriculum makers in the social studies have been acutely concerned with the problem of organizing materials for school instruction. Violent and prolonged controversies have raged, numerous theories have been proposed, and unevaluated experimentation has abounded in every quarter, but little genuine research has as yet been focused upon the problem of organizing content.

The principal issue has been whether to organize curriculums in separate courses patterned after the scholarly disciplines of history, geography, government, economics, and sociology or to create courses which combine elements of two or more of these disciplines. Those who have chosen the alternative of teaching the social studies as separate subjects have been regarded as conservatives. An increasingly large body of reformers have challenged traditional practice by insisting that the historian's history and the economist's economics are not suited to the needs of the immature

learner for whom the most effective arrangement of materials is said to be one governed by life problems, centers of interest, or generalized concepts which draw upon several or all of the social subjects at the same time.

At the present time a very preponderant majority of secondary-school social-studies courses and a somewhat smaller proportion of elementary-school courses continue to follow the traditional pattern of separate subjects. In all parts of the United States, however, arresting innovations characterized by differing degrees of combination of the traditional subjects and described as correlated, fused, unified, and integrated are to be found. In some places the integration principle has been carried to its logical extreme, and the social studies lose their identity even as a field and are merged as a part of a total unified curriculum. Further complexity is introduced by the existence of an infinite variety of patterns for the internal arrangement of materials within the several courses, whether combined or separate. These specific internal patterns are labeled by such terms as the unit plan, the topical approach, the biographical approach, the chronological approach, and case studies.

The relative merits of the several plans have not as yet been definitely established by objective evaluation of their outcomes although a few efforts in this direction have been made. Most experimental studies reported yield some conflicting and much inconclusive evidence. In general, research has shown that it is possible to attain from combined courses results which are at least as good as those obtained from separate-subject courses when measured in terms of pupils' achievement in learning information and acquiring skills (21: 19, 133). The recent experimental studies of Wrightstone (45: 128f) have attempted to evaluate "intangible outcomes" as well as information acquired, and the results have shown that pupils pursuing integrated curriculums excel others in respect to social attitudes and social behavior. It must be recognized, however, that curriculum organization was not the only variable in the Wrightstone studies, for teaching method also differed between the experimental and control groups.

Although research has contributed little to the solution of the central problem of the relative merits of the several plans in terms of outcomes, considerable illumination has been shed by studies devoted to historical and logical analyses of the movement toward curricular integration. These studies have shown that the movement is farther advanced in the United States than in other countries, that it has been

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waxing uninterrupted for at least two decades, that many of its characteristic elements can be found in educational practice and writing of decades or even centuries ago, that current plans for correlation are less artificial than those advocated by the Herbartians in the 1890's, and that many of the values claimed for integrated courses also apply to subject courses. In fact, it is possible that the movement toward integration has so vitalized and enriched the subjects which have remained organized separately that they may take on a new lease on life (42).

Grade placement. The problem of determining what curriculum materials to assign to each school grade has two aspects: the provision for orderly sequence of content elements and the assignment of content to a given grade in terms of the level of the abilities, interests, and achievements of pupils. The second of these aspects has attracted nearly all of the very limited amount of research which has been undertaken in this area.

The problem of sequence within the program of studies, sometimes also referred to as vertical integration, has been given considerable attention by curriculum theorists and committees. They have proposed schemes for planned repetition and schemes for avoiding all repetition; they have insisted on the principle of grading from the near to the remote and from the remote to the near. But all such proposals have been on a *priori* grounds. Indeed it is doubtful whether the validity of any plan of vertical articulation *could* be tested by objective research. About all that research has been able to show in this area has been the wide variety of patterns of grade placement found in practice and their divergence from any and all of the theoretical schemes proposed. Such research in the field of geography, supplemented by general research on pupil growth and arguments from opinion, has accounted for the shift from a two-cycle to a one-cycle plan in grades 4 to 8 (28).

Determination of grade placement in terms of the characteristics of the learners has been proposed as a problem seriously demanding scientific investigation, but research thus far actually completed in this area has been meager. In a *Yearbook* article by Rankin (26: Ch. 8), which is the most thorough summary yet made of studies bearing upon the grading of social-studies curriculum materials, the following three approaches are noted: (a) child interest, (b) utility to pupils, and (c) ease of learning. The first two of these are said to have received practically no attention whatsoever in the social-studies field although pertinent research in

science, spelling, and health education are cited. Only with respect to grading materials in terms of their difficulty or ease of learning has any considerable research been reported, and here the concern has been more largely with skills than with information.

Pupils' abilities to grasp social concepts and to master study skills have been shown quite naturally to increase regularly with grade level (e.g. 16). But there has been no agreement among investigators as to what percentage of achievement on any grade level is most clearly indicative of proper placement. Using figures which vary from 50 to 75 per cent and noting unusual jumps in the learning curve, different students have offered the following conclusions from research:

Concepts expressing relationships involving objects are easier than concepts expressing relationships involving persons. Such abstract concepts as "patriotism" and "industry" are quite beyond the capacity of children in the primary grades. The concept of "zone" in geography is too difficult for use below the sixth grade.

The relative difficulty of social-studies reading materials can be controlled to some extent by reference to the various word lists which have been developed by research. In addition to the general word lists, several have been compiled for the special vocabularies of the social studies. These are combined in the extensive list prepared by Wesley (see 15: 592-609).

Pupils can understand historical episodes better than descriptions and expositions. See also **READING**.

Ability to interpret cartoons increases most markedly between the age of twelve and fifteen, suggesting their desirability as curriculum material on the junior-high-school level.

Most pupils in the seventh grade may be expected to understand all forms of simple graphs, and some may be used below that level. Circle graphs are most easily understood; line graphs are most difficult.

Ability to use geographical tools, such as maps, globes, books, and pictures, was studied in grades 4 through 8 by Thorp (see 27: 494). As a result, she prepared a table suggesting the grade in which each of 28 tool uses should be introduced.

The social studies offer no clearly discernible order of difficulty, no logical order of learning, no series of progressive laws and principles. The obvious variables are the individual pupil, the class, the content, the teacher, and the method. In view of these difficulties it is not surprising that so few tangible conclusions with respect to grading are available, and the out-

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look for future achievement is not very encouraging.

Social learning. The knowledge of how pupils learn, obstacles in the way of learning, and factors that facilitate learning are matters of the greatest concern to teachers. The obligation to study the problem of learning has been particularly obvious in recent years because the evidence as to the nature of the learning process emphasizes the role of the teacher as a director of learning rather than as an imparter of information.

Research on the nature of learning has been abundant and fruitful, and the general conclusions which have been reached are reviewed elsewhere in this volume. (See CHILD DEVELOPMENT; LEARNING; MOTIVATION.) Only those matters which pertain distinctively to social learning will be here considered. In view of the fact that such *distinctive* matters are narrowly limited, the space here given to research in social learning is far less than would be demanded by the importance to teaching of research in learning.

Basic to all learning is experience, and basic to social learning is social experience. By social experience is meant individual observation of human relationships and activities as well as actual participation in group life. Direct experience, however, is clearly limited in its possibilities for acquainting the learner with the wide range of information about society and for developing insight into and understanding of social problems and processes which are essential to effective social competence on the part of the individual. In order to learn about society and how to participate in it, the pupil must depend on the experiences of others as well as upon his own experience. That is, he learns by vicarious experience, which process takes place almost exclusively through the medium of language. Thus the basic factors in social learning are experience and language. The former involves activities, projects, pupil organizations, and pupil participation in community life. The latter involves vocabulary growth, development of concepts of time, place, and number, and the problems of reading.

The two basic media of social learning—experience, and language—must be employed side by side at all stages of social education. Empirical evidence seems to recommend that the lower grades devote major emphasis to direct experience while simultaneously fostering skills in the use of language to identify that experience and that the secondary school may most profitably reverse the emphasis by greatly expanding the *vicarious* experience of pupils through the use of language, which has come to

have meaning for them as it has previously been related to their own experience. Direct experience should thus play a supplementary but by no means minor role in secondary-school instruction.

The relative values of direct experience and verbal learning have been variously studied. The former, in such forms as realistic constructive activities and field trips, has been shown generally, but not always, to result in a more vivid understanding with fewer erroneous concepts, but the latter has proved to be much more economical in time and adaptable to a far greater range of social learning. In the study of history the learner must of necessity rely upon other means than direct experience, and many phases of the other social studies are almost equally dependent upon vicarious experience. That vicarious experience is more accurate and lasting when conveyed by media, such as pictures and models, which are closer to reality than words, has been effectively demonstrated. The specific evidence on this last point will be considered below under "Equipment."

Social learning through direct experience. Although educators have long recognized the importance of the experiential basis of learning, it was formerly assumed that sufficient experience would be acquired by children in their everyday life, leaving to the school only the task of interpreting pupils' experience by identifying and expanding it through verbal instruction. Under the influence of such nineteenth-century pioneers as Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Parker and the majority of influential leaders in the twentieth century, emphasis has been placed upon the importance of the school's responsibility for providing pupils with deliberately planned direct experience as an integral part of instruction. In social-studies teaching this has meant the adoption of such out-of-school practices as field trips, clean-up weeks, community surveys, and participation in community activities, such as traffic control, Red Cross drives, and even local government. Under the same aegis many pupil activities within the school, such as student government, citizenship clubs, and lifelike project work of all sorts, have been encouraged as means of providing the social experience considered basic to social education.

Despite a voluminous literature in the field of experiential learning and its widespread effects upon actual practice, there is a notable lack of direct research concerning its value in terms of social learning. The outstanding contribution to fundamental thinking as to social learning through direct experience is the critical

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analysis by Horn (13: 393-440), based only slightly upon objective research but replete with evidence from experience and judgment and filled with practical suggestions. Horn clearly shows the unique values to be gained from objects, exhibits, museums, excursions, and constructive activities. In connection with the latter he analyzes prevalent practices (utilizing in part the evidence from an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Marion Anderson, who investigated constructive activities in the social studies, 1880-1930) and rejects those which are deficient in authenticity, which type he claims to be most frequent in use. He stresses the values of constructing working models and carrying out actual processes and of "the direct participation in the solution of community problems." His fundamental dicta as to use are (a) that constructive activities have real but limited usefulness and so should supplement but not supplant other modes of instruction and (b) that "each activity should contribute directly to the understanding of some important aspect or process of social life; that is, it should be strictly subordinate to the important concepts that make up the curriculum in the social studies" (13: 417).

Social learning through language. Despite an increased utilization of direct experience, by far the greater part of all social learning in the schools takes place through the medium of language. Whether by reading the printed page or by listening to the spoken word, the pupil's approach to social learning through language involves the same fundamental problem. Language makes possible an almost unlimited range and depth for learning, but, as actually used in most school situations, it has exhibited serious inadequacies as a means of achieving complete and accurate understanding of social realities. "The memorization of empty words and the complacent possession of flagrant misconceptions and vague ideas appear to be more nearly the rule than the exception" (13: 151).

The reasons for the deficiencies of language as a means of social learning have been studied extensively, especially with respect to reading. They seem to be principally the following: (a) Words are symbols of reality and inevitably convey different connotations to the reader or hearer from those intended by the user. The difference is minimized when the writer or speaker is an artist in the use of words and when the reader or hearer has a large reservoir of correct associations between words and the realities for which they stand. (b) Among children the failure of words to convey adequate meanings is accentuated by reason of their

limited background of experience. (c) Faulty use of words in the schoolroom as well as in the home and on the playground develops wrong associations between words and realities for many children. (d) Very often the social ideas which words attempt to convey are inherently too difficult to be comprehended by prospective learners. (e) Language has sometimes failed as a medium of instruction not because of any inherent quality but because in its use it has been poorly adapted to the requirements of the learner. Specifically it has too often dealt with abstractions with too little attention to descriptions of concrete details.

All of the inadequacies of language are revealed sharply in studies of reading as related to understanding the social studies. In addition, there are certain difficulties pertaining to the reading process itself (see *READING*). Furthermore, individual differences in reading ability are extremely great. In any one school grade the difference in reading ability between the best and the poorest pupil is typically greater than the difference between the average reading ability of pupils in grades from four to eight years apart.

Vocabulary is important both as an element in reading ability and as a medium for the development and retention of social concepts. Each of the social-studies subjects has a distinctive vocabulary, including many common words with special meanings. The number of words peculiarly characteristic of history has been shown to be much smaller than that for each of the other fields. So-called history word lists usually consist largely of terms from the other social sciences (37). Various word lists for separate fields and combinations of them have been compiled by Stephenson, Eubanks, Ware, Pressey, and others, and a composite of these lists made by Wesley, containing about 4500 words with indices of utility and difficulty, is reproduced as Appendix II in the volume by Kelley and Krey (15).

The importance of knowing the basic vocabulary of the social studies has been amply demonstrated in several investigations. Pressey, for example, found a coefficient of correlation of .79 between scores on a test of social terms and a test of reading comprehension involving those terms and a coefficient of .67 between the former test and pupils' marks in history (15: 159-60). Another study found that knowledge of social-studies terms has a higher predictive power in high-school American history than either an intelligence test or a general reading test.

The factors that contribute to vocabulary growth are not as clearly identifiable as the

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outcomes which result from it. A remarkable constancy of the growth curve according to age and grade status is typical although Pressey found evidence to suggest a much greater rate of growth between grades 4 and 8 than between grades 9 and 12, which she attributed to direct instruction in the elementary grades and the lack of it in high school. Other studies have borne out the general principle that direct instruction is the surest way to secure vocabulary growth. Newburn, however, found no difference in the effectiveness of vocabulary drill on words found in the history lesson and on words related to but not selected from the assigned readings (see 21: 56-58).

Taking course work in the social studies bears surprisingly little relationship to growth in the technical vocabulary of the social studies. This fact is indicated by the approximately equal degrees of growth found by Wilson in New York State for school grades in which nearly all pupils were enrolled in social-studies courses as compared with those grades in which few pupils were enrolled (41: 94). It was even more clearly demonstrated in an unpublished investigation by Murra in which the coefficients of correlation between the social-science vocabularies of college sophomores and the amounts of course work which they had had in grades 9 to 14 varied for different groups from .12 to .33. The same study found a correlation of .70 between scores on the social-science vocabulary test and a general intelligence test, thus corroborating other evidence as to the high degree of identity between these two factors.

Out-of-school experience is another factor commonly found to bear a significant relationship to comprehension of social terms, being found in one study of geographic terms to outrank even the intelligence factor.

Special aspects of social learning. Time. Important to the understanding of society is a sense of time. Such an understanding has long been assumed as an objective of history instruction, but the results have not been encouraging in the light of the prevalence of erroneous and inadequate time concepts among adults.

A sense of time seems to develop rather independently of direct school instruction as an individual grows older although definite teaching of chronology and general intelligence are both factors that may speed up normal growth in this area. The almost utter lack of chronological sense by primary children has been shown (16). College students clearly possess more accurate conceptions of time than do high-school pupils (38: 408-10). The more advanced students exhibited more expansive views of both the past and the future.

Of the 2500 most frequent words in Thorndike's list the 119 words which convey time concepts have been listed and classified by Wesley (38: 404-05). Of these 43 were identified as definite time concepts and 76 as indefinite time concepts; 12 definite time concepts were among the 500 most frequent words in Thorndike's list.

Exact dates and other specific references to time are definitely superior to approximate dates and other general time references in terms of economy of learning and total grasp of chronology (38: 405; 16). The memorizing of specific date-event associations without relating dates to one another and to a total time pattern is almost universally condemned and deservedly so in view of the evidence as to the rapid forgetting of such learnings and their failure to contribute to a general sense of time. The use of time lines and time charts is widely and strongly recommended, but their values have yet to be appraised by research.

Place. Social-studies instruction is concerned with teaching both a generalized sense of place relationships and a store of knowledge of specific place locations. Geography bears the chief burden of such instruction although it is shared by the other social studies, notably history.

Wesley found only 7 words descriptive of location and 13 specific place names in the first 2500 words of Thorndike's word list (38: 413-15). Pressey found that entering-college students needed to know 115 geographical names in American history and 88 in European history (30). Indeed the so-called special vocabularies of geography, noted earlier in this section, all contain research evidence on the needs for learning about place.

Knowledge of geographic terms has been shown to correlate significantly with out-of-school experience. Pupils' actual knowledge in this area has been shown to be sharply deficient, one study showing clearly that pupils actually knew much less than their teachers thought they did. Many of children's erroneous conceptions regarding place seem to result from poor ability at map reading. Suggestions pursuant to these findings have pointed toward more direct instruction in map-reading skills and a greater utilization of the globe.

Quantitative thinking. Clear thinking about social matters demands that one be able to deal with concepts of number as well as of time and place. However, school pupils, college students, and adults generally have been found notably ill equipped to translate such general quantitative terms as "heavy," "many," and "very few" into numbers that are at all reason-

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able for the context used; and, conversely, they cannot relate specific quantitative measures into anything meaningful in terms of their experience (13: 189-91).

Although research has been emphatic in showing deficiencies in existent quantitative thinking and in the slow growth of this ability, it has also shown the very real demands made by textbooks and by situations in adult life for careful quantitative thinking. Nevertheless, no experiments have as yet been reported which reveal the instructional materials and procedures which should be employed in engendering the ability to think quantitatively.

Method of teaching. Research studies dealing with classroom methods in the social studies may be considered under four headings: (a) descriptions of past methods; (b) descriptions of present methods; (c) appraisals of the outcomes and comparative values of certain fixed patterns of method; (d) analyses of specific elements of method.

History of method. Social-studies teachers have shown themselves to be remarkably unconcerned with the history of their own profession. This is the more surprising in view of the usual claims of history teachers to the values of knowing the past in order to know the present. Studies in the history of methods have been much fewer than studies in the history of the curriculum although it should be acknowledged that some of the latter, cited above, have cast incidental light on methods. Of the former type of studies the most directly helpful are the articles by Russell (32), which deal with history teaching in New York State from 1830 to 1850, and the *Fifth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, The Historical Approach to Methods of Teaching the Social Studies* (23).

Such evidence as is available yields an array of interesting, detailed facts and a few significant generalizations. One learns, for example, that many of the supposedly recent emphases, such as wide reading and pupil activity are not so wholly new as is commonly believed. The lag of practice behind theory is a constant phenomenon. The dominance of the textbook and the question-and-answer recitation has been noted for at least the last century although these phases of method have declined slightly in relative importance in the twentieth century with the increased use of more flexible methods. The use of constructive activities in elementary social studies seems to have increased in the 1870's and 1880's and then declined, to be revived again in the 1920's. The source method in history came into wide use in the 1890's and subsequently declined.

Current practices. Conducting a recitation based on pupils' previous reading of a textbook assignment appears to be the most commonly employed method of social-studies teachers at all levels between the college and the primary grades. The lecture method dominates college instruction and group activities characterize the primary grades. Few teachers use the textbook recitation exclusively, but most of them use it more than any other. Next in popularity are informal discussions led by the teacher, socialized recitations led by pupils, and supervised study. Group activity is fairly common in the elementary grades but is rarely found in secondary schools. It is impossible to be at all precise in estimating relative frequencies of the use of particular methods because of the loose use of terminology in this field and the partially conflicting evidence of different investigations, but it is certain that the faithful use of such pattern methods as the Dalton plan, the contract plan, and the Morrison plan is exceedingly rare. Reference to three of the more important studies will indicate some of the evidence on which the preceding generalizations have been based.

After direct classroom observation of 250 representative Middle Western social-studies classes in grades 7 and 8 in 1933-34 Feany (7) reported "the activities one would be likely to see upon stepping into a social-studies class" as follows: "The objective of the modal [i.e. typical] lesson would be the determination of the degree to which pupils have mastered facts in the textbook. . . . One would probably see a part of the period devoted to supervised study. There would be extensive questioning by the teacher or preparation for discussion by the teacher, such as an overview. . . . The class would in most cases be organized and dealt with as a whole."

In a questionnaire study of 384 representative social-studies teachers in New York State in 1937 Wilson (41) found that nearly all had used recitation, informal discussion, and directed study at some time or other and that the first two methods were most favored. In terms of total classroom time the teachers reported that 12 per cent was spent in making the assignment, 45 per cent in recitation, 23 per cent in supervised study, 11 per cent in testing, and 10 per cent in other activities. Junior-high-school teachers devoted considerably less time than senior-high-school teachers to recitation and more to supervised study and other activities. Wilson reported that his direct observation in 200 classroom visits emphasized more than the statistics the high frequency of teachers' use of "relatively formal recitation."

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"Superior" teachers of the social studies use the textbook recitation much less than teachers generally according to results of a questionnaire survey of 1764 superior teachers in 1936-37 (27). In reply to a five-choice check list of methods 11.6 per cent reported use of the "textbook recitation," 33.7 per cent used the "socialized recitation," 10.7 per cent used "individual activities," 19.7 per cent used "group activities," and 23.7 per cent used various combinations of these. Of the elementary teachers included in the study, 31.8 per cent used group activities. On all levels a decided preference (57.2 per cent) for group activities was expressed in response to the query: "What technique would you prefer to use if conditions permitted?" In reply to this same question only 1.5 per cent expressed preference for the textbook recitation.

Trends in classroom procedure in the social studies have been moving in the same direction as methodological trends generally. That the extent of change in practice is considerably less than that indicated by the writing about methods is demonstrated by comparing such descriptive surveys as are included in the above paragraphs with reviews of the literature, such as those of Hodgkins (12) and Phillips (see 21: Ch. 3). The conclusions of the latter investigator, cautiously based on both practice and the literature, may be taken as an accurate statement of current trends: "Methods . . . [in the social studies] bear witness to a widespread interest in such devices as large-unit procedures, newer concepts of mastery and mastery techniques, laboratory procedures and individual work, and varying degrees of socialization in place of the more formal recitation techniques. In general the trend seems to be in the direction of greater opportunity for pupil initiative and activity, socialization in classroom procedures, and richer and fuller concepts of mastery and standards of performance" (p. 63).

Evaluation of patterns of method. Educational philosophers and practitioners have filled twentieth-century educational literature with a host of labels and slogans concerning methods. The terminology has become exceedingly confusing, and teachers, other than the original innovators, have taken to using the words without always comprehending the basic realities. (See METHODS OF TEACHING.) In view of this confusion an initial task of the careful investigator has been to identify the essence and scope of each of the several proposed schemes of methodology. A useful contribution to the clarification of thinking on this problem is provided by Wesley (38), who has compiled two lists of methods, one a classification of 56

methods under eleven rubrics according to the basis of classification (p. 473-74), the other identifying the "focal point" of each of fourteen methods, as follows (p. 477):

METHOD	POINT OF EMPHASIS
Topical	Synthesized content
Unit	Understanding of significant units
Textbook	Content
Question and answer	Clarification and drill
Lecture	Authoritative presentation
Contract	Differentiated achievement
Block	Differentiated assignment
Laboratory	Achievement through equipment
Problem	Experience in solving problems
Project	Experimental learning
Directed study	Facilitation of learning
Socialized	Social cooperation
Developmental	Pupil growth
Source	Development of critical faculties

In practice each of the above methods partakes of many aspects other than its point of emphasis. Many of its specific elements will also be found as a part of other methods with differing distinctive emphases. This fact, plus the extremely variable usage in terminology among different teachers and writers, makes it inordinately difficult to identify precisely just what is meant by any one method, and it thus becomes even more difficult to compare one method with another. Nevertheless, the attempts to make such comparisons by theoretical analyses, by reviews of the literature, and by more or less "controlled" classroom experimentation have been very numerous. Evidence provided by this research is of essentially the same nature for special methods in the social studies as for general methods (see METHODS OF TEACHING); it thus needs only brief attention in this place.

In summary of the evidence Hodgkins has written: "On the whole, experimental studies in comparative teaching methods have been rather inconclusive thus far. Even where differences might seem large enough to be statistically significant in favor of one method or another, allowance must generally be made for complicating factors, such as imperfectly equated pupil groups, differences in the skill and enthusiasm with which different methods are handled, and inability to test some of the important outcomes. Experiments or groups of experiments involving enough pupils and enough variety of conditions to warrant con-

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clusions of broad and general applicability are rare—and necessarily rarer in the social studies than in some other fields in which objective testing is more readily able to cover the desired outcomes" (12: 9).

The inconclusiveness of experimental results in this area is further attested by the conclusions of Kimmel (18), Phillips (see 21: Ch. 3), and Davey and Hill (see 21: Ch. 1), each of whom made a direct analysis of the evidence, much of which is contained in unpublished theses. Although one is compelled to agree that no single one of the widely advocated "newer methods" can be shown demonstrably to be more effective than the "traditional methods," it must also be recognized that the former have been found to be at least equally effective with the latter in terms of commonly measured results. In terms of attitudes, abilities, and actions, pupils who had been taught by the newer methods were found to be definitely superior in the only studies to date which have attempted careful objective measurement of these outcomes—those by Wrightstone (45, 46). The perfection of techniques for measuring the less tangible outcomes of social-studies instruction will no doubt permit a more competent appraisal, but that situation is still in the future. In the meantime the burden of proof as to the desirability of a teacher's using any particular method lies with those who would have him change from whatever his judgment and experience lead him to follow.

Special mention should be made of the research on comparative methods in geography. Most definite results have followed the isolation and evaluation of such specific procedures as the effect of work sheets, lesson guides, questions, and workbooks (28). While the differences in favor of the experimental procedure were usually positive, they were by no means overwhelming. One must recognize that such elements as the type of exercises used, the quality of instruction, the degree of control of the experimental factors, and other variables are bound to affect the result. In addition to the specific results these studies have tended to promote trends toward wider reading, the more frequent use of sources, and the making of field trips. Other studies seem to show positive results in favor of wide reading at the close of the unit, in favor of utilizing museums, the use of maps, pictures, and other supplementary materials (28).

Perhaps the most nearly conclusive of all the evidence concerning the comparative value of methods is that which points to the desirability of a variety of methods as distinguished from the exclusive use of any one method, but even

this generalization is not incontrovertible and is not to be taken as a rule of practice for every teacher.

Elements of method. Method of teaching becomes more effectively subject to experimental analysis when considered in terms of its particular component elements than when treated as an inclusive entity. Thus some very substantial contributions to good teaching procedure have been made by research students who have studied the values to be gained and techniques to be used in (a) telling or lecturing, (b) questioning, (c) directing study, and (d) directing pupil activity. Although it is recognized that many other "elements of method" might be enumerated, most of the research findings pertinent to them are reviewed either elsewhere in this article, particularly in the sections on "Social learning" and "Equipment" or in other articles in this volume.

Telling or lecturing. Teachers tend to talk less in social-studies classrooms than formerly. This shift in practice reflects the weight of authoritative opinion on the matters of the proper role of the teacher and of oral instruction, and this opinion in turn invokes the sanction of research findings. The evidence usually cited, however, is taken from the psychology of learning ("the active nature of the learning process" and related theses) and bears only indirectly on the fundamental question of the validity of lecturing for specific purposes. Some critics have pointed out that the dictum that teachers should not lecture is an erroneous application of the evidence and have insisted that listening to an oral presentation may be just as "active" and just as efficacious for learning as reading the printed page. Unfortunately little experimentation has dealt directly with the values of teacher telling as an element of method. A considerable proportion of the research on this problem has been concerned with college teaching on the one hand and with subjects other than the social studies on the other. The full range of this evidence is well reviewed by Horn (13: 300-26). The outstanding conclusion is that teacher telling, or the "lecture method," probably has considerably more usefulness in elementary and secondary-school social studies than is commonly assumed. Some of the specific findings suggest the following: (a) ability to learn from spoken words exhibits a high degree of correlation with ability to learn from printed words, both forms of learning being dependent essentially on competence in understanding language; (b) "students probably learn more from excellent and less from poor lectures than from reading" (13: 314); (c) oral teaching is more effective

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than pupil reading below the sixth or seventh grade, but if indulged in excessively it will retard growth in reading ability; (d) in the secondary schools the lecture has some distinctive advantages and should be used on occasion, but the evidence is not conclusive as to just what are the occasions upon which this means of instruction should be used.

Questioning. As in the case of talking, the social-studies teacher is asking fewer questions than formerly, and the reasons for this trend are similar. The question-and-answer recitation, the dominant classroom procedure in social-studies instruction for generations, has been severely attacked in recent years, but the attack has been largely on the basis of indirect evidence and *a priori* judgment. As in the case of the lecture method, criticisms have been more against its abuses than against the essence of the technique itself, and the direct evidence on the issue has been slight. Despite the disrepute of class questioning the practice still prevails as the typical procedure in the great majority of social-studies classrooms. (See p. 1142.)

The potential value of questioning for promoting pupil learning and retention has been amply demonstrated by research. But it is equally evident from research that these potentialities are rarely realized. Questioning may be utilized effectively to develop pupil interest, thought processes, and understanding, to establish a vital rapport between teacher and pupil, and to test pupils' achievements; but in practice the last named purpose predominates. Questioning fails to result in maximum effectiveness because of the overuse of questions as mere testing devices, the infrequent use of questions to stimulate and guide learning, the superficial kind of questions asked, the excessive rapidity of questioning, and the maldistribution of questions by directing them at the ready talkers rather than at the pupils most needing their stimulation and guidance. Questioning may be the most potent instrument for combating superficial verbalism, but in practice it tends to encourage it.

Most of the research on questioning has dealt with its use in all fields of instruction. The most adequate treatment of the problem with reference to the social studies is that by Horn (13: 336-57).

Directing study. Success in the social studies is dependent to a considerable degree upon ability to study. One investigator reported a higher correlation between achievement and this ability than between achievement and either intelligence or time spent. (See 21: 95.) Others have found deficient study techniques to

be a significant cause of failure. Despite these facts most teachers still leave study to the whims and habits of pupils to be pursued outside of school hours although a marked trend of the past two decades has been the great increase of time devoted to directed study in the classroom. See also DIRECTING STUDY.

The value of class study as compared with home study has been amply demonstrated in nearly all investigations of the problem. The evidence here is more convincing than on almost any other conclusion from experimental comparisons of method. However, the specific techniques of most value for supervised study have not been so clearly indicated.

With respect to the organization of time for class study many specific proposals have been made. Their relative effectiveness apparently depends upon a great variety of other factors, such as the length of the class period, the amount and arrangement of equipment, and the type of assignment used. When flexible, large-unit assignments are utilized, class study for several entire class periods in succession seems to attain its maximum effectiveness. When class study is alternated with recitation, a divided period with study during the first half and recitation during the second has been shown to be superior in the field of the social studies to a divided period with a recitation study sequence.

With respect to specific techniques for teaching how to study, there is little agreement from either opinion or research. Most frequently recommended is the use of study-guide questions and exercises which follow closely specific reading material. As between printed workbooks and teacher-made work sheets, a sharp controversy has raged, with experimental evidence conflicting but the preponderance of opinion favoring work sheets. The necessity for teaching reading and the best means for doing it have been discussed above.

Pupils of inferior and average ability have usually been found to profit more from supervised study than have abler pupils.

Directing pupil activity. Evidence from the field of educational psychology emphasizing the "active nature of the learning process" has affected the method of teaching the social studies markedly. It has strengthened the cause of the project method, the socialized recitation, and others of the newer "patterns of method," but its more widespread influence has been in the extension of the idea that all pupil learning derives from pupil activity. In accord with this concept the teacher's responsibility becomes the selection, assignment, and direction of specific activities in which pupils engage as a means to

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the ends of knowledge, understanding, and skill.

The term "activity" has acquired two meanings. In the broader sense it embraces every act by which the pupil learns. In a narrower sense it refers only to overt acts and processes. The latter usage of the term has the longer history, indicating an aspect of instruction long associated with good social-studies instruction and sanctioned by a succession of educational theories. To be sure, these so-called "constructive activities," used to supplement social-studies instruction, have not always enriched it as is shown in the study by Anderson (13: 414ff).

In the broader sense of the term reading, writing, and listening are all considered as activities as well as talking, acting, and making things. In 1929 Wilson compiled an exhaustive classified list of activities for learning the social studies (43). Using a revision of the Wilson list, Price conducted an extensive investigation to determine the merits of the several specific activities and types of activities (31). He found overt activities more favored by dull pupils than by bright pupils, and he noted that teachers use to excess, in terms of pupil preference, such "passive activities" as listening and reading.

Equipment. Since the beginning of the present century an increasing emphasis has been placed upon the utilization of physical equipment to aid in social-studies instruction. This trend has unquestionably been affected by such factors as transient enthusiasms, fads, and producers' salesmanship. Educational research, however, has also played a significant role in pointing out the need for equipment and in showing its effectiveness in the improvement of instruction (43: 151).

Research has usually been focused on one item of equipment at a time although a few investigations have embraced either the whole field or at least large portions of it. Many of the more comprehensive studies have been concerned with the collection and utilization of a wide assortment of tangible teaching aids under the name of "the social-studies laboratory." An influential study in this group is that of Baldwin (3), which reported an extensive survey of social-studies equipment available in grades 9 to 12 in a number of representative schools. He found a high degree of uniformity of equipment for the several social subjects and thus came to the conclusion that all equipment for these subjects should be assembled in a single departmental laboratory. He recommended a number of specific items for each subject and each grade level. Numerous

writers have described their social-studies laboratories and the "laboratory method," but their enthusiasms have lacked objective evaluation.

A review of the numerous studies which have appraised objectively the value of this or that tangible teaching aid in the social studies is impressive for the high percentage of positive findings revealed. An increased use of equipment in teaching the social studies usually results in increased social learning by pupils.

Practice in pursuance of this general principle is conditioned by the limited budgets under which most schools operate. Although it cannot be stressed too strongly that social-studies teachers and administrators have an obligation to see that appropriations for social-studies books, maps, and other equipment be greatly increased, it must nevertheless be recognized that few schools have the funds for all that is educationally desirable. In this situation choices have to be made among competing alternatives; and the problem becomes one of getting most pupil learning per unit out of money spent. To guide in making these expenditures wisely, further research is greatly needed in evaluating teaching aids in terms of both educational value and cost.

The textbook. Textbooks in the social studies have changed in recent years in response to research in the curriculum and in social learning as well as that dealing directly with the textbooks themselves. Thus textbooks are increasingly organized on fusion and unit bases and may legitimately claim to place less stress upon detailed facts and more upon functional materials than the texts of a generation ago. They also tend to include more concrete content, especially in the lower grades, better maps and pictures, and much more reading matter. Both style and vocabulary of textbooks have been better adapted to pupils' abilities as a result of research in grade placement, as have also type size and format. Recent textbooks in geography have shifted their illustrations from static, isolated scenes to those which reveal processes in their natural setting. There has been an increase in the size of pictures and in the number of maps.

Despite these improvements in textbooks recent research has demonstrated that most books are still too difficult for the majority of pupils on the grade levels for which they are intended, that maps and pictures are inadequate, and that too little is included by way of concrete example. These criticisms apply more seriously to the secondary school than to the elementary school and to books in history than to books in geography.

The recent improvement in textbooks is

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further emphasized by a number of research studies on nineteenth-century textbooks, which were found to be typically small, unattractive, difficult manuals. The content of older textbooks tended to be more abstract, more formal, more filled with factual details, more devoted to the structure of government and political and military history, and to give less attention to recent history and contemporary problems. Scholarly accuracy has been shown to have increased in the more recent textbooks although one thorough investigation found typical lags of five to twenty-five years between the first announcement of a new discovery or viewpoint in historical scholarship and its incorporation in American history texts.

The size of textbooks has increased markedly in recent years. American history books for senior high schools have doubled in length since 1910. Eight economics books published in the 1920's were found to average 117 pages whereas seven economics books published in the 1930's averaged 556 pages. Recent books in all five history courses commonly taught in the secondary schools have averaged over 800 pages whereas the averages for books in other courses are still under 700 pages. These increases in size have corresponded commendably with research findings as to the superior merits of extensive reading, the paucity of library resources, and the expansion of the curriculum, and they have met with the approval of teachers.

The number of pictures, maps, and graphs in textbooks has increased even more rapidly than the size of the books. The largest number of such visual aids is found in geography books, with history books next, and books for other courses lagging far behind.

Authors of social-studies books continue as always to be predominantly college teachers of subject matter. Some evidence suggests increased authorship roles for classroom teachers and college professors of education. A study made in 1936 shows that of 86 authors of social-studies textbooks, 69 per cent were college professors of subjects, 16 per cent were secondary teachers, 12 per cent were college professors of education, and 2 per cent were school administrators. The tendency toward multiple authorship has been especially noticeable in recent text: (38: 287).

The increase in size of textbooks, although generally approved, has meant in some cases an increase in the number of topics treated rather than a fuller treatment of the prevailing topics. This characteristic has been shown to limit seriously the effectiveness of a text and is generally condemned. Numerous studies of the

vocabulary, names, dates, and style of social-studies textbooks have pointed uniformly to the need for simplification, and some of these have shown that such simplification is both possible and effective in terms of pupil learning.

Several bibliographies of textbooks in the social studies have been compiled, the most recent and inclusive being that by Murra and others (20). This list contained 447 books, intended to represent every social-studies textbook published in the United States with a copyright date between January 1, 1932, and March 1, 1939. Of the 447 books 172 were for elementary schools, 115 for junior high schools, and 160 for senior high schools.

The selection of textbooks is typically in the hands of school administrators although teachers are playing an increasing role. A summary of the evidence on selecting textbooks in the social studies by Vickery (20: 60-74) yielded the recommendations that (a) comprehensive, objective criteria should be determined in advance, (b) a small number of books should be tentatively chosen after examination, and (c) final selection should be made only after classroom tryouts.

The use of textbooks is almost universal among social-studies teachers. Numerous investigations have demonstrated this fact conclusively although some of them seem to indicate that the practice of adhering to a single textbook is diminishing slightly in recent years. The prevalence of the so-called "textbook method" and its possibilities for effectiveness have been noted above in the section on "Methods of teaching."

The social-studies library and collateral reading. The importance of a rich and plentiful supply of books other than the textbook has long been recognized in connection with social-studies instruction. Several lines of evidence from research converge to give sanction to this emphasis. Moreover, the existing supplies of books have been shown repeatedly to be inadequate. When secondary-school teachers of social studies in the State of New York were asked by Wilson to indicate their most pressing needs for the improvement of social-studies instruction, the reply which outranked all others was "more books" (41).

Historically the use of readings outside the textbook seems to have come into prominence during the last third of the nineteenth century. Incidents in its early emergence were: the advocacy of the "laboratory method" by Mary Sheldon Barnes under the influence of the Oswego movement; the reaction of educational leaders against the prevalence of verbalistic

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and memoriter learning and the consequent advocacy of the topical method, and the source method in the 1880's; the recommendations for collateral reading in connection with history which appeared in the reports of the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Seven in the 1890's; and the appearance (probably first in the 1890's) of "lists of readings" in social-studies textbooks. In practice teachers' use of "collateral" or "supplementary" readings has lagged far behind the recommendations of educators and the findings of research. With special reference to social-studies library books Horn wrote in 1937: "There are today very few schools, either elementary or secondary, that have equipment to meet the standards set up forty years ago." The lag is due not only to the lack of books, however, but also to teachers' failure to use available books. To a limited extent, however, wider reading is on the increase in social studies, a trend paralleling the decline of dependence on a single textbook.

Prevailing practices with regard to the reading program in social studies have been surveyed in a number of investigations. They agree in reporting that a majority, but considerably less than all, of social-studies teachers make systematic use of readings in books other than the textbook. Greatest use, and according to Swindler, "most efficient use," is made by schools of medium size (see 21: 163). Kimmel found in New York State that the lowest quantities of reading per pupil were to be found in schools with enrollments of under 150 and over 2500 (17). The number of pages read in a year by each pupil has varied enormously; the averages reported in several surveys ranged from 150 to 3500 pages.

Purposes claimed for collateral reading have been variously collected and analyzed. Although the acquisition of information is the most common aim, the high ranks given to the development of interest (especially in connection with biography and historical fiction) and abilities (e.g. use of library and basic references and the historical method) are notable.

The value of wide reading as compared with little or no reading has been fairly well established by research. Most significant findings in this area are those of Good and others in which extensive reading was found to be generally more effective than intensive reading even when the unit of time was equal for both methods (13: Ch. 5). The relative values of different types of readings are seriously in need of further investigation.

Methods employed in the management of the reading program must continue to be guided

by teacher judgment and expediency, for experimental evidence is slight and inconclusive in this area. Two general principles commonly emphasized, although supported only indirectly by research evidence, deal with the need for (a) effective motivation of the reading assignment and (b) careful adjustment of quantity, kind, and difficulty of readings to individual differences.

In addition to getting an adequate supply of books, teachers are confronted with the problems of how to assign readings and how to check the results. Research has thrown little light on just how these problems are to be solved. Such help as there is consists of descriptive and statistical surveys of prevailing practices. Norton, Kimmel, and others have found that teachers (a) more often make reading assignments by topics than by specified pages, (b) most frequently try to arouse interest in reading books by reading excerpts or giving résumés or annotations and by making constant reference to the book, (c) have pupils give oral reports more frequently than written reports, and (d) commonly use reading cards as well as oral and written reports to check pupils' reading and less commonly use individual conferences and formal examinations for this purpose (see 21: 140-12; 17).

The characteristics of books for the social-studies library and the bases for selecting them have been given considerable attention. The results of research in this direction have been commonly expressed in specific bibliographies of reading references. Such bibliographies are numerous and vary greatly as to kind and merit. The book lists included in social-studies textbooks have been shown to be characteristically of surprisingly poor quality although some texts contain the best lists to be found anywhere. There is no agreement among authors of textbooks or compilers of separate lists as to what particular books should be included. Among the most important bibliographies of books for the social-studies library are those of the 1921 committee headed by Hill (11), the 1924 committee headed by Foster (8), and the lists by Swindler (33). In special areas are the list of historical fiction by Logasa (19), biography by Wilson and Wilson (40) and Ireland (14), and reference books by Wesley and Murra (39), and geography books by Branom (28: Ch. 26).

Workbooks. Since about 1925 teachers have increasingly utilized printed workbooks as aids for pupils in their study of the social studies. The antecedents of the workbook were the study outline, the map book, and the notebook. The factors which contributed to the

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almost phenomenal rise of the workbook in the late 1920's and early 1930's are said by Tryon to have been: the supervised study movement, increased emphasis upon individualization of instruction, and the attack upon the traditional recitation (35). The extent of the movement is shown by questionnaire studies of teachers' frequency of using them (out of 245 schools surveyed in 1930, 103 used workbooks in history and 80 in geography) and by a count of the number published (over 200 in social studies other than geography during the period 1927-1937). Apparently fewer new publications in this field appeared each successive year after about 1935, but whether or not they have declined in use has not been determined.

Social-studies workbooks have been classified as to kind and content by Wesley (38: 316-18) and Tryon (35). Both writers have commented on the wide variations in quality of particular workbooks. Tryon examined 161 different volumes and found that the predominant pupil exercise required was filling in blanks.

The value of workbooks as instructional aids remains uncertain despite several investigations. While a majority of the loosely controlled experiments involving workbooks have seemed to indicate that superior achievement results from their use, other similar studies have yielded inconclusive results. Collected opinions as to the value of workbooks in the social studies have been contradictory although most of them are generally favorable.

Maps. Maps are of distinctive and almost indispensable value to the teacher of social studies. They have long been used extensively in geography, and their use in history and the other social studies appears to be on the increase. More and better maps appear in the newer textbooks. In several surveys of social-studies equipment globes, wall maps, and atlases have been found to be seriously lacking.

Naturally enough most of the experiments dealing with the use of maps, globes, and directions have been carried on in connection with the study of geography. A number of findings or conclusions can be stated:

1. Children make numerous errors in trying to read maps.
2. The reading of maps must be taught specifically and concretely.
3. Pupils can be taught to read maps with a fair degree of adequacy.
4. Without guidance pupils do not know whether the word or the dot indicates the location of a city on the map.
5. The use of a scale of miles, the directions, the reading of latitudes and longitudes, the

direction of river flow, and the key symbols for locating a place on a map all require specific instruction.

6. The use of outline maps is an effective aid to learning.

7. Real maps and hypothetical maps both have teaching values.

8. Children do not acquire a knowledge of directions until they study geography.

9. Such terms as zone, latitude, and longitude require specific teaching.

10. Numerous studies prove that ignorance of common geographic facts is widespread.

11. All geographic errors common to pupils are also common among teachers.

12. The incidental teaching of geographic tools is a failure (28).

Charts and graphs. The use of graphic representation of social data has increased significantly in adult reading materials in recent years, thus pointing to the need for increased school instruction in the use of charts and graphs. Although investigations have failed to point clearly to the value of charts and graphs as learning devices, the reason may lie in the inability of pupils to master the technical skills necessary for using them, and there can be no doubt as to the social utility of knowing how to utilize such devices. Horn has declared that "when students are taught to read graphs as they should be, there is reason to believe that these aids will add materially to the effectiveness of instruction" (13: 388).

Pictures. The use of pictures of all kinds has been shown to increase interest, understanding, and retention. The need for careful selection and classroom use of pictures is emphasized, however, by studies revealing pupils' misconceptions gained from pictures and the ineffectiveness of their random use. Pictures in textbooks have been found to vary greatly in number, quality, captions, and articulation with textual matter. Several studies agree in saying that pupils must be taught to read pictures. In most respects pictures in geography books are better than those in other texts; and their marked improvement in recent books in all social-studies fields is notable. In general the value of pictures as aids to learning has been shown to vary inversely with age, intelligence, and reading ability. Colored pictures have been shown to be superior to black-and-white pictures in third-grade geography.

The relative merits of different kinds of pictures have been inadequately studied. It is probable that the textbook illustration, the loose print, the opaque projection, the lantern slide, the still film, the silent motion picture,

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and the sound motion picture each has its distinctive advantage for specific purposes. For this reason it is rather beside the point to attempt to compare one kind with another as to general value. Thus experimental comparisons between lantern slides and moving pictures have yielded conflicting evidence. Horn (13: 369-70) has stated that "the trend of opinion now seems to be that the results obtained from still pictures approximate those from motion pictures except where movement or a sequence of events is to be portrayed." See also VISUAL EDUCATION.

The phonograph. Phonograph records can be used to advantage in the social-studies classroom for giving pupils a vivid acquaintance with songs and instrumental music characteristic of other times and other places. They may also be used to reproduce the voices of famous persons. Research studies have as yet, however, contributed little to guide teachers in their use of this aid. Among the more practical helps available are the lists and indexes of phonograph records, classified according to their historical or geographical relevance.

The radio. Of the few investigations which pertain distinctively to the social studies, perhaps the most significant are those which have established that news broadcasts listened to in the classroom under teacher direction are superior in terms of information and interest in current events to both class use of printed materials and pupils' listening to broadcasts at home (see 21: 200). See also RADIO EDUCATION.

Specimens and models. A specimen, being a reality, is thought to have great teaching value, and a faithful model is close to the specimen in reality. Some studies tend to show the superiority of these aids over pictures.

Measurement and evaluation. General surveys of social-studies testing may be classified into two groups: those which are primarily historical and descriptive and those which are analytical and evaluative. Studies of the former type have furnished an abundance of specific information, of which only a few of the more significant items can be mentioned. The chief means of measurement in social studies for generations have been oral quizzing during the recitation period and essays written in response to stated questions.

The use of objective measurements in the social studies lagged behind other fields. The first published objective tests in the social studies were those in history and geography which appeared between 1914 and 1920. The number was greatly increased with the appearance of hundreds of new tests in the 1920's.

Fewer new tests were published after 1930, for an increasing use was made of new editions of established series of tests, such as the *Iowa Every-Pupil Tests* and the *Co-operative Tests*. Between 1936 and 1939 a notable aid was rendered social-studies teachers by the publication of four *Bulletins* of the National Council for the Social Studies containing "reservoirs" of validated test items by Anderson and Lindquist (1). These items, in the fields of American history, world history, economics, and government, are frequently incorporated into classroom tests. Teachers lagged a decade or more behind the publication of tests in adopting objective techniques for their own tests. A survey reported in 1930 that objective tests were used more frequently by social studies teachers than either essay tests or essay-objective combinations. Wilson's survey of social studies in New York State reported in 1938 (41) that half of the secondary teachers preferred objective tests, a third preferred essay examinations, and a sixth preferred a combination of the two forms. The same study reported that 11 per cent of class time on both junior- and senior-high-school levels was devoted to testing. The most common types of objective-test items found in teacher-made tests have been completion, short-answer, and true-false.

Analytical and evaluative surveys have repeatedly revealed serious inadequacies in testing practices in the social studies. Traditional essay-type examinations have been convincingly shown to lack reliability under customary conditions. (See also EXAMINATIONS.) New-type objective examinations, while characteristically possessing a much higher degree of objectivity and rather more reliability than essay examinations, have been often found subject to serious deficiencies with respect to validity. These deficiencies have been found to exist with respect to most published tests and to an even greater degree with respect to teacher-made tests. Most serious deficiencies are: (a) faulty item construction permitting testees to select the correct response on the basis of grammatical consistency, verbal association, or other irrelevant clues; (b) too little use of the multiple-choice form, shown by research to be the most generally useful in the social studies; (c) encouragement of memoriter learning of isolated facts; (d) the narrow range of outcomes tested—emphasis on factual information at the expense of insights, abilities, appreciations, and attitudes.

Offsetting to some extent these findings as to prevalent deficiencies are other positive experiments demonstrating how the faults may be overcome. It has been shown that essay examinations can be notably improved by using

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more care in phrasing clear and definite questions, by establishing specific criteria for judging answers, by restricting the outcomes intended to be measured by each question, and by concealing the name of the test writer from the test reader until after a mark has been determined. Objective tests have also been shown to be subject to improvement by observing the numerous specific technical rules that should govern their construction (such as avoidance of verbal and grammatical clues, the need for clear-cut directions, the arrangement of items in order of difficulty, and so forth), by applying statistical techniques for item analysis and test revision, and by phrasing items so as to avoid textbook language and other stereotypes and to demand insight or application of information by the testee. (See TESTS, ACHIEVEMENT.) Most significant of all recent developments for the improvement of social-studies testing has been the extension of the range of outcomes measured by the devising of numerous new instruments for measuring the so-called "intangibles." (See EVALUATION.)

The movement for the measurement of non-informational, or "intangible," outcomes of social-studies instruction, which dominated testing research in the late 1930's, had its origin in the research findings which demonstrated that usual testing practices were confined to a very limited number of the accepted objectives of the social studies. When it was shown that teachers were claiming for their instruction the development of character, attitudes, appreciations, skills, and abilities but were unable to make any appraisal of their success in these directions, research workers undertook to develop appropriate instruments of measurement. The development of attitude scales had an origin independent of the social-studies field, and teachers of social studies have been very slow to make use of the many good instruments of this type available to them. (See ATTITUDES.) Most progress within the social studies has been in the field of measuring skills. A pioneer contribution was the set of tests developed in Rochester, New York, under the direction of Alice Gibbons, published in 1929 (9). The several editions of the *Iowa Every-Pupil Tests of Basic Study Skills*, Wrightstone's *Co-operative Test of Social-Studies Abilities*, and the *Clark Exercises in the Use of Historical Evidence* represent significant subsequent developments.¹ These instruments have demon-

strated the possibility of measuring objectively such elusive factors as ability to use books, to interpret maps, graphs, and pictures, to understand generalizations, to make associations, and to think critically. Less success has accompanied efforts to test character traits and appreciations. Very significant attempts are currently being made to measure pupils' actual social behavior.

Teachers should be aware that different tests which they use in social-studies classes measure different functions. The usual custom of assigning a single rating as an appraisal of pupil achievement is open to serious criticism, for it conceals significant variations in the achievement profile of any individual pupil. The assignment of a rating for each of several factors is recommended. These suggestions are based on research evidence as to the correlations which obtain among different types of tests. Thus tests of information, and particularly vocabulary tests, have been found to be closely related to general intelligence and to general reading ability. Attitude tests typically yield low positive correlations with both intelligence and information tests. The fact that low correlations have been found between reliable tests of the essay and objective types suggests that they are measuring essentially different factors.

Other aspects of social-studies instruction. *Current events.* The teaching of current events has occupied a role of increasing importance in school instruction in the twentieth century. Such teaching is very largely accepted as a responsibility of the social-studies teacher. It is typically treated as a part of regular social-studies courses, being designated as a separate subject in only about one fourth of the elementary schools and a considerably smaller fraction of the secondary schools. Whether or not it is offered as a separate course, the modal practice is to devote one class period per week to direct instruction in current affairs.

Current-events instruction has been shown to result in increased knowledge about current affairs, but there is no evidence as to how effectively, if at all, it contributes to the other-than-informational outcomes which are claimed for it. Knowledge of contemporary affairs has been shown to exhibit a positive correlation with basic civic information when intelligence is held constant, and similar relationships have been found between such knowledge and achievement on history examinations, liberal social attitudes, size of community, and sex (boys consistently excelling girls). The amount of course-work background in social studies, independent of direct instruction in current

¹ The results of extensive research in developing measures of social studies have just become available in MORSE, HORACE, and McCUNE, GEORGE. *Selected Items for Testing Study Skills*. National Council for the Social Studies, Bulletin No. 15, 1940. 72 p.

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events, has been found to bear a negligible relationship to achievement on current-events tests.

Accepting current-events information as the sole aim and criterion, some studies have shown the superiority of direct and systematic study of contemporary affairs over the incidental study of such matters in connection with a prescribed course. This usually means the setting aside of a definite period for study. The use of a current-events periodical by every pupil was shown by one statistical study to be the "best method," but another study showed that "newspaper clippings can be just as effective as a weekly periodical if they are used systematically." (See 21: 203.)

The deficiencies of teachers as well as of school children in accurate knowledge of the contemporary world have been demonstrated in a number of surveys. Lack of interest in current problems and a slight amount of reading about them in newspapers and periodicals have also been revealed as typical characteristics of pupils not receiving systematic instruction.

Current-events instruction has thus far been proved efficacious only in affecting pupils' knowledge about current affairs, an outcome not universally sanctioned as an important goal of social-studies instruction. After a review of research in this area Murra has written: "There is an urgent need for intensive and exhaustive investigation of the outcomes of current-events instruction upon such traits as social and civic attitudes, ability to discriminate, actual undirected reading habits, civic behavior, and understanding of basic social concepts and generalizations." (See 21: 202.)

Community study. Teaching pupils about the community in which they live has long been an element of good social-studies instruction for the dual purpose of equipping them with information of a high degree of social utility and utilizing familiar social data to make generalized concepts more meaningful. In the late 1930's this area became the focus of greatly increased emphasis, with social-studies teachers in large numbers reorganizing their curriculums and adapting their methods to provide for it. A considerable body of literature developed, the most notable being the 1938 *Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (25). This volume, however, as well as the rest of the literature, is almost completely devoid of research appraisals. Greatly needed experimental investigations yet remain to be made.

Community analysis was declared to be one of sixteen important "neglected areas" in the

social-studies curriculum by the commission which prepared the 1936 *Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence* (26: 157). A select but sizable group of 1761 "superior" social-studies teachers, when queried on the matter, concurred with the judgment of the commission by rating this topic among the five areas most needing additional emphasis (27). It was regarded as "adequately taught" by only 17.9 per cent of the elementary teachers, 32 per cent of the junior-high-school teachers, and 25.4 per cent of the senior-high-school teachers.

Basic to intelligent utilization of community resources is research of the survey type revealing just what those resources are. Sometimes such investigations are made in advance of use by teachers, for example, that by Moser for Cumberland, Wisconsin (38: 436-40) and sometimes they are an activity of school pupils, for example, those done in Greeley, Colorado, under the direction of Michener (see 25: 144-63).

Field trips or excursions are one of the most widely used specific techniques for community study. They are used much more extensively in Europe than in the United States and more in geography than in the other social studies. It was found in 1937 that 39 per cent of a representative sample of social-studies teachers in New York State high schools used field trips in their instruction (41). Precautions must be taken to assure safety of pupils on trips and the legal responsibilities of teachers and schools should be clearly determined in advance. (See *School Law*.) No objective studies have dealt directly with the outcomes of community study, but subjective judgments have been notably unanimous in declaring its value, and some indirect evidence has been interpreted as favoring it. With regard to field trips in particular Horn has written: "There is some very substantial evidence . . . which indicates that the values claimed for excursions or field trips have not been exaggerated" (13: 410).

That pupils' knowledge of their local community is seriously deficient and that secondary-school instruction contributes very slightly to its growth were among the outstanding conclusions of Wilson's survey of social studies in New York State (41).

Education against propaganda. The nature, extent, and influence of propaganda have received widespread attention. Most of these studies are beyond the scope of this article, but much of the content of propaganda centers in the social-studies field and so deserves brief consideration here.

The effect of propaganda increases with

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repetition. Both Lasker and Biddle found that prejudices resulting from propaganda increased with age (see 22: 115-116). Two approaches to education against propaganda have been tried. The first may be designated as defense by the acquisition of traits. This approach involves the development of such qualities as caution, skepticism, and a questioning attitude. The second approach is that which deals directly with propaganda techniques. The second has received more attention, but the studies by Biddle (22) and Osborn (29) seem to lead to the rather obvious conclusions that propaganda techniques used in a particular topic or problem can be identified, analyzed, and minimized, but that this process is not easily or certainly transferred to the propaganda techniques in another topic or problem. In other words, the ability to detect propaganda seems to rest upon one's knowledge of the topic rather than upon the identification of the techniques.

Teachers seem to be aware of the need for training their students to detect propaganda, but they are not very clear as to the issues involved or as to the method to be used. For example, Price found that only 11 per cent of a group of teachers utilized the obvious method of making comparisons and contrasts between two articles on the same subject (see 22: 123). Propaganda seems to be regarded as a new manifestation, calling for the recognition of a few tricks. Few teachers seem to recognize the value of the historical or any other critical method in attacking current propaganda.

The social-studies teacher. The social-studies teacher is not always listed as such. While the elementary teacher is a social-studies teacher, he is also a teacher of English, arithmetic, and science. If the term "social-studies teacher" is reserved for those who give their full or major time to the field, it will apply primarily to those in junior and senior high schools. Excluding the elementary teachers, the number of social-studies teachers in the United States is about 30,000. One third of this number are men; 84 per cent of them have college degrees; one third have taken at least one year of graduate work; one half are under thirty-one years of age. A survey of 15,000 social-studies teachers showed that the median years of experience were 8.4, ranging from 4 years in small schools to nearly 14 in large cities. Two thirds of the teachers surveyed had taught in two or more school systems and two fifths had taught in three or more systems (2: Ch. 3).

Social studies teachers until fairly recently received their training primarily in history. A much smaller number took majors in sociology or political science. Within the last decade,

however, many institutions have established social-studies majors. These require some degree of concentration in one subject, such as history, and supporting courses in two or three other social sciences. For examples, typical requirements are 24 semester hours in history and 20 hours divided among economics, sociology, political science, or geography, or any two or three of these four subjects. There seems to be little difference between teachers colleges and liberal arts colleges with respect to the requirements in history and the other social studies.

The problem of teaching combinations complicates the training of social-studies teachers. Two thirds of all social-studies teachers have some assignment outside the field, being called on most frequently to teach English, but instances of every possible combination could be cited. While social-studies teachers teach outside their field, such activity in no wise equals in extent and frequency the invasion of the field by teachers who were trained in other subjects. Twenty per cent of all teachers with minors have one in the social studies. The lack of definitive standards in the field and the widespread notion that majors in physical education, music, art, or any other subject are qualified to teach the social studies go far to perpetuate low standards and vague results.

The large number of social-studies teachers who have pursued graduate work indicates a rising standard in the field. The practice of graduate schools in closing advanced courses to teachers because of the lack of prerequisites tends to drive them into more education courses and into the specialization of their undergraduate work. Graduate schools thus tend to prevent the social-studies teacher from securing a wide training on the higher level. The need for individualizing the graduate-study programs of social-studies teachers in view of their varied backgrounds of training has been demonstrated by Kerbow (24: Ch. 3).

While there is little quantitative evidence of the in-service growth of social-studies teachers, there are several factors which indicate such growth. In New York State Wilson (41: Ch. 7) found that 36 per cent of a group of social-studies teachers were engaged in some kind of experiment; that 76 per cent read a daily newspaper; that nearly 17 per cent have written for publication; that a third had traveled widely in the United States; and that a fifth had been to Europe. On the other hand, Wilson found that social-studies teachers seldom belong to civic organizations or participate in public affairs; that they often write theses outside their field; and that many of them read few

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professional or critical magazines. On a national scale the increasing professional consciousness of social-studies teachers is indicated by the marked growth of membership in the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council of Geography Teachers. Even larger numbers of teachers are reached by the rapidly multiplying local organizations, as is shown by the investigation made in 1939 by Oagley (see 25: Ch. 8).

Some research studies of the traits of good teachers of social studies have been made although they cannot be clearly distinguished from studies of good teaching. A valuable summary of these studies, which concludes with a self-rating scale derived from their findings, has been made by Michener (see 24: Ch. 1).

See also **TEACHER EDUCATION—VI. CURRICULUM.**

Needed research. When one summarizes what is definitely known in the teaching of the social studies, he is impressed by the paucity of convincing conclusions. They seem to be so few, so tentative, and so limited as to leave the whole field wide open for the repetition of previous studies and the indefinite expansion into other areas, topics, and problems. The following paragraphs are intended merely to direct attention to some of the more urgent needs of research.

The history of textbooks, equipment, and methods needs to be expanded. Studies of the influence of the report of the Committee of Seven or of any other report would be useful contributions to recent developments. Surveys of contemporary offerings seem to meet an appreciative response. Although their value is not very enduring—they are soon absorbed into a larger picture—they furnish temporary guidance and help to define the direction of developments.

Research can never determine objectives, but synthesis of opinions, analyses of social trends and purposes, and descriptions and classifications of educational purposes can be significant and influential. Frequent inquiries into the state of opinion need to be made, and the adjustment of educational to social objectives is a never-ending task. Further research in the selection of curricular content can be directed toward making general principles, such as utility, learnability, and accuracy, specifically workable, toward the repetition of extant techniques, and toward the discovery of new techniques. Future research might well be directed toward the discovery of more inclusive, workable, and acceptable techniques, toward harmonizing objectives and curriculum content, and toward selecting materials which clearly

reflect the needs of the community in which they are to be used. Perhaps the most fruitful results will come from numerous attempts to apply available principles and techniques to local situations.

Further research in curricular organization of the social studies might well be directed toward the evaluation of existing forms as well as toward evolving new ones. Materials organized in such a manner as to meet the approval of scholars, teachers, and curriculum makers might be tried out, measured, and contrasted with other forms. Determining the relative merits of a unit and a topic might not lead to conclusive results, but it would at least be more convincing than mere arguments. Additional research in grade placement might well be focused upon the arrangement of sequential materials, the application of them to a few selected pupils throughout a period of years, upon further work in the difficulties of words and skills, and upon a closer study of the stages of child development. The discovery of special tastes, interests, and abilities offers some hope of a negative as well as a positive nature. While no definitive results in terms of the grade assignment of materials can be expected, it should be possible to locate some elements, if not topics and problems, in terms of the primary and intermediate grades and the junior and senior high schools.

In the social studies there are many aspects of the problem of learning which are in need of further research, and many of them have the appeal of specificity and tangibility of returns. Further analyses of the relation of experience to learning, the factors of language, the importance of first-hand experiences, and such special elements as time, place, vocabulary, and study tools, such as maps, graphs, tables, etc., need further illumination. The relative effectiveness of group and individual experiences is not completely understood.

Research has demonstrated the complexity of method and the futility of comparing various methods. However, the effects of equipment and the value of devices can probably be ascertained quite definitely, and such elements as questioning, rules for studying, pupil reports, etc. can probably be segregated and evaluated. The problems of the social-studies library and reading lists for particular courses should receive recurring attention.

The most needed research in social-studies testing is that which would deal with attitudes and other outcomes not satisfactorily measured by conventional paper-and-pencil tests. The distinction between measuring and evaluating deserves clarification. The measurement of

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conduct, such as choosing radio programs, reading books, and participating in community activities, should receive more attention, for conduct is a measure of the effects of teaching and as such it deserves the attention of test makers.

Research relating to current events, community study, and propaganda is inadequate. The fundamental value of knowing current events remains to be demonstrated. The parts which the teacher and the pupil should play in community study need clarification. The development of methods to offset propaganda has not yet reached a satisfactory stage.

NOTE. This article is the contribution of three individuals. Murra developed the organization and wrote the major portion of the article. He also compiled the bibliography. Wesley contributed the introductory material, the sections on the development and status of the social studies, the social-studies teacher, and needed research. Zink furnished extensive data on geography.

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EDGAR B. WESLEY
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Wesley's *Teaching the Social Studies* (38) is a useful guide both for its extensive annotated bibliographies and its Appendix A, which cites with source references 38 specific "tentative results of educational research in the social studies." Horn's *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies* (13) is based very largely on research findings with respect to social learning, method of teaching, and equipment, with citations of sources scattered profusely in footnotes. The bibliography and summaries which comprise the bulletin by Hodgkins (12) contain much that is research along with much of a nonresearch nature.

Research on the social-studies curriculum, especially with respect to selection and grade placement, is summarized in the *Fourteenth Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence (26). In the field of geography teaching 82 research studies are classified and summarized by Zink in the *Thir-*

teenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (28: Ch. 28).

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IV APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Social Studies Educator

CHARLOTTE ENGELBOURG

If fundamental and long-term improvement in school social studies instruction is to be brought about, weaknesses and deficiencies must first be overcome in the training of social studies teachers, the leadership of social studies educators in the schools, and research in social studies education. In each of these tasks, the role of the social studies educator is central, and any profound change in social studies instruction depends upon increasing the effectiveness of social studies educators as a group. The general purpose of this investigation was to determine what steps to take in order to bring about this improvement.

The study as a whole had three phases: (1) to conduct a survey that would provide accurate descriptive information on doctoral programs in social studies education and the employment

of successful candidates; (2) by comparing the survey findings with a model program developed by the investigator to make value judgments on the conditions revealed by the survey; (3) to find the reasons behind the differences discovered between the model and the actual practices, and thereby identify areas in need of reform.

The model program evolved after a study of the literature of graduate education in general and of doctoral programs in education; no source dealt specifically with the social studies educator, although two doctoral dissertations were relevant.¹ Data were collected by a questionnaire sent to approximately sixteen hundred individuals at the college level who had been identified by the National

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Council for the Social Studies as having responsibility for social studies education. Response was received from slightly over half this population, 210 of whom held the doctorate and identified themselves as social studies educators. Throughout this report the term "social studies educator" refers to the 110 practicing social studies educators who had received their doctorates. For the purposes of this study, a social studies educator is defined as a person whose professional activity has been largely concerned with the training of social studies teachers, the improvement of school social studies programs, social studies education research, and/or creating and operating advanced degree programs in social studies education.

This study suffers from the same limitations that apply to all mail questionnaire surveys—the question of whether or not there was a meeting of minds and the fact that time information (i.e., age of respondent, age at which he received the doctorate, etc.) is not correlated with such other data as the number of published works.

Underlying the model doctoral program proposed in the investigation was an analysis of such enduring issues as specialization versus breadth, and research versus teaching and practice. Also, policies and practices in other disciplines and professions were examined for their relevance to the situation in social studies education.

As a result of this analysis, a model was formulated composed of sixteen assertions, each of which dealt with a practice of significance in determining the effectiveness of social studies educators. The picture of a model doctoral program

in social studies education emerges: five to twenty resident, full-time candidates are actively engaged in various levels of the program. Course work, seminars, and independent study form a planned, sequential pattern of about three years' duration, and the candidates expect to complete the program in about four or five years. This will be possible because they will be carefully selected and financial aid will be available to facilitate steady, uninterrupted study. Although the focus is social studies education, the sequence of study is also designed so that the candidate can broaden his knowledge, since the program provides some opportunity for continued work in the social sciences. The overall emphasis is research; and the dissertation, which is especially useful in developing the necessary skills, should result in at least one publishable article.

The feasibility of this ambitious program is due in large measure to the high level of demonstrated ability of the students selected for admission; the academic standards are at least equivalent to those in the graduate school of arts and sciences.

The sixteen assertions forming the model have been divided into two categories, the first of which comprises six statements whose common quality is that the respondents greatly exceeded the standard that the model proposed for the profession. The model required a minimum of two or three years' teaching experience before admission to a doctoral program, and 97 percent of the social studies educators had it. However, there is room for concern because 73 percent had excessive teaching experience—more than five years.

The model had two statements regarding the study of the social sciences. The first called for each social studies educator to study one particular social science discipline a minimum of two years as a graduate student in the field of his undergraduate social science major. This requirement for depth in a social science was met by 60 percent of the social studies educators, although one-fifth didn't pursue their social science majors beyond the undergraduate level. The other requirement was that a social studies educator should seek breadth by studying three years or more in the social sciences other than the major; no stipulation was made as to the level of the courses. Ninety percent had three years or more in one or several of the social sciences other than the major concentration.

The model maintained that two years ought to be the minimum full-time residence (work taken on campus during the regular academic year in contrast to evening, Saturday, and summer study). It was also held that the total elapsed time in calendar years between starting graduate work toward a doctorate and receiving the degree should be no more than five years. An encouraging number of social studies educators met these standards. Half had at least two years of full-time residence, and the fraction jumps to almost three-fourths when you add the 22 percent who claimed one year of full-time residence. Note, however, that nearly one out of four had no such full-time study at all, and that slightly over one out of four took over five years to complete their work.

An authoritative study dealing with graduate education revealed that for 1957 recipients of doctorates in educa-

tion the elapsed time between the beginning of graduate work towards the doctorate and the awarding of the degree was slightly over five years.² This investigator's finding was that almost three-fourths of the responding social studies educators received the degree in five years or less.

Why are the standards not met to a greater extent than these statistics indicate? The respondents who failed to finish doctoral work (excluding graduate work toward a master's degree) in five years responded as in a single voice: inadequate financial support. Given the visibility of the financial problem and the fact that government agencies and private foundations are increasing their support, one might expect resourceful social studies educators to make important headway in gaining financial assistance for outstanding candidates. It must be added, however, that support should not be expected for weak programs or mediocre candidates.

The last item of the model met by the respondents is in the nature of a self-fulfilling prediction. Since the questionnaires were sent to those on a NCSS list, it is not surprising that 90 percent of the respondents were members of this organization. In addition, one-third were members of one or more of the seven major social science organizations (usually the American Historical Association) and were also affiliated with other educational groups.

Some standards were satisfied by a bare majority of social studies educators, or by none. The model maintained that

2. Berelson, Bernard. *Graduate Education in the United States*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960. p. 158.

candidates should be selected on the basis of academic promise. Thirty percent of the social studies educators in this survey had been graduated cum laude, magna cum laude, or summa cum laude.

However, there are various indications that social studies educators are not of the same academic caliber as those in other related disciplines. Over half of them had attended undergraduate institutions that were not selective as compared with about one-quarter of the historians studied by another investigator.³ Similarly, one study constructed an academic performance index (cumulative grade-point average weighted by the quality of the institution) and ranked those undergraduates expressing a preference for a particular graduate field. Ranked by percentage in the top fifth of the academic performance index were 29 percent in history and 14 percent in education; and in the bottom half, 35 percent in history and 47 percent in education.⁴ Another study draws a curve from the scores of college graduates majoring in education to the scores of graduate students in education. This curve slopes down, indicating a less-than-average amount of selection for graduate students in education.⁵

3. The selectivity ranking is adapted from Cass, James, and Birnbaum, Max. *Comparative Guide to American Colleges*. New York: Harper, 1964. Perkins, Dexter, ranks undergraduate institutions according to the number of Ph.D.'s in history received by their graduates from 1936 to 1956. *The Education of Historians in the United States*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962. p. 43.

4. Davis, James A. *Great Aspirations: The Graduate School Plans of America's College Seniors*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964. p. 145.

5. Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training. *America's Resources of Specialized Talent: A Current Appraisal and a Look*

Anyone familiar with the literature on the purposes of graduate education is aware that the controversy between teaching and research has been the crucial issue of the graduate school throughout the twentieth century. The position in this investigation is that research orientation is crucial to the future of the social studies education enterprise. One central purpose of doctoral training, therefore, is to instill the research attitude and to impart the skills necessary to carry out effective inquiry. To be "literate" in statistics is mandatory; yet, slightly over half of this population had less than one graduate year in statistics! The fact that stands out most starkly is that almost one-third had no such study at all.

The model maintained that the doctoral dissertation should be of such a nature and quality as to provide the basis for a book, part of a book, or an article. Only about two-fifths of the successful candidates in social studies education have a dissertation-based publication to their credit. There are reasons why not every dissertation can result in a published paper, and certainly the intent of this requirement is not to accelerate the publication explosion. On the other hand, the fact that a large number of doctoral recipients can investigate a topic and then not have the findings communicated to the profession through publication speaks poorly of the investigations themselves.

It was asserted in the model that each student take a one-year graduate course or seminar dealing with the psychologi-

Ahead. (Report prepared by Dael Wolfe, director.) New York: Harper, 1954. p. 195.

cal foundations of education and another one with the sociological foundations. Actual practices fell short; one-half had done no advanced work in the psychological area, and only 41 percent had met or exceeded the standard set in the model for advanced work in the sociological foundations.

The model contained the assertion that a year's course or seminar dealing with a critical review of the research and the current issues in social studies education ought to be an integral part of a doctoral program in social studies education. Such study had not been done by 56 percent of the social studies educators. It is probable that the chief reason for this is that usually there are too few candidates engaged in a social studies education doctoral program to warrant such a course. An examination of institutions granting doctorates in social studies education between 1934 and 1962 reveals that fewer than one-fourth of these institutions granted most of the degrees. In a span of almost thirty years, more than three out of four doctoral-granting institutions granted fewer than ten degrees to social studies educators.⁶

There are many arguments to support the need for a minimum number of students. Advanced graduate work cannot be conducted in a vacuum. The stimulation, criticism, and ideas of others who have like interests and who are working on similar problems are an invaluable part of graduate study. There are important values in the informal day-to-day interaction between doctoral students in a given field.

6. McPhie, Walter E. *Dissertations in Social Studies Education: A Comprehensive Guide*.

Two items dealt with aspects of the doctoral program itself. One asserted that each candidate should gain experience as an assistant in a course dealing with curriculum and instruction in social studies; the other held that there should be required supervision of practice teachers. The survey showed that 41 percent of practicing social studies educators had been graders, assistants, or teachers, and that 51 percent had experience supervising practice teachers, although not necessarily in social studies. These figures can be contrasted with a 1958 survey of Ph.D.'s in history, two-thirds of whom were independent teachers, leaders of discussion sections, or assistants in grading papers, while working toward their Ph.D.⁷

The remaining statements had to do with postdoctoral activities. Foremost among these was the contention that a social studies educator should be persuaded by training and provision in his work load to conduct scholarly investigations on problems and issues in social studies education and to report his results in suitable journals. In fact, only one out of five practicing social studies educators devote as much as one-fourth of their professional time to research; in contrast, historians spend 22 percent of their time in research and writing.⁸ Still, 40 percent of the social studies educators have published six articles or more. The last item suggested that social studies educators should contribute

Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1964.

7. Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

8. Carter, Allan M. *An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966. p. 38.

to the improvement of school social studies instruction by serving from time to time as consultants. Ninety-four percent of this population spent 10 percent or less of their time on consulting, and 83 percent spent 10 percent or less on curriculum work.

There are certain aspects of doctoral training in social studies education on which substantial agreement exists and that would lend themselves to quick adoption by the profession as standards. Certain other proposals are beyond gen-

eral attainment until adequate financial support for the social studies education enterprise is obtained and there is a firm resolve to establish and maintain uncompromisingly high standards.

If these issues can be resolved, if certain problems are confronted, and if a start is made in establishing standards, the colleges and universities of America will be on their way to producing the kind of leaders so sorely needed to bring about fundamental and long-term improvements in social studies instruction.

APPENDIX B

EXPERIMENTAL CLASSROOM STUDIES OF TEACHER TRAINING, TEACHING BEHAVIOR, AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

Paper presented at the 1970 meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies

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Many educators involved in the pre-service and in-service education of teachers are currently training teachers to increase their use of certain behaviors and decrease their use of other behaviors. The number of behavioral skills which educators have selected for the training of teachers is staggering. In some programs, upwards of 1,000 skills have been identified; training programs have been developed, and methods of evaluating teacher attainment of these objectives have been devised.

In the 1960's we learned that teachers *can* be trained to exhibit specific behaviors in the classroom or to elicit specified student behaviors. But many educators now wonder whether this training of teachers results in enhanced growth of *students*. To answer the question, experimental studies must be conducted and reviewed. But only certain types of experimental studies are appropriate: those in which (a) some teachers were trained to teach a class of students in a certain manner, (b) observational measures were obtained to verify that teachers behaved as intended, and (c) end-of-experiment measures were obtained (such as achievement scores).

Most of the experimental studies in social studies or education in general lack these characteristics. Most of the studies are (a) controlled laboratory-type experiments conducted in a setting which seems dissimilar to that of a school, (b) classroom-based studies in which only the experimenter gave the instruction to the class, or (c) large-scale curriculum studies in which observational data on classroom behavior were not obtained. No criticism is intended of any of the above three designs. However, such studies can *only* yield interesting hypotheses which appear worth of future *tests* in a teacher training situation; they cannot be taken by themselves as evidence of the validity of these behaviors *for the training of teachers and the improvement of student achievement*.

This review contains all the studies I could find in which teachers were trained, their classroom behavior was observed, and measures of student achievement were obtained. The review is limited to studies in which *student achievement* was measured. Other outcome variables such as student persistency in a task, ability to create a new product, or improved attitudes toward school or subject area are not included here because experimental studies in these areas have seldom been conducted, and because each of these outcomes merits a separate review.

The few studies which were found have been organized and will be described under four topics: cognitive behaviors, affective behaviors, student participation, and enthusiasm. The reader should be cautioned that another reviewer might have organized, even interpreted, these studies differently. The reader might also note that many variables of interest apparently have not been studied. Such variables include many of the cognitive and affective behaviors which are described in numerous observational systems, student classroom activities, student out-of-class activities, and teacher motivational techniques.

Teacher Cognitive Behavior

Six studies were found in which teachers were trained to use specified cognitive behaviors such as the asking of questions which require increased cognitive processing to answer.

Seventh and Eighth Grade Economics. Miller (1966) conducted an experiment to compare the effects of "responsive teaching" and "direct teaching." Seventh and eighth grade students were randomly assigned to one of eight groups, and these students received ten 30-minute lessons on American economics. The four experienced teachers were expected to teach one set of lessons in a direct manner and another set of lessons in an indirect manner. Following the instruction, all students took two achievement tests developed by the investigator. One test was designed to measure mastery of facts, the other, mastery of higher understandings.

Coding of the instructional behavior of teachers and students was done by combining scores on a variety of behaviors to form one set of judgments for each lesson. Although there was a clear distinction in the teaching behavior in the two situations, "It seems clear that teaching behavior as specified in the Responsive

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Treatment was not satisfactorily presented." On the average, teachers were faithful to the responsive method 63 percent of the time, compared to 94 percent of the time for the direct method. It is difficult to decide on the level of student responses *during* the lesson. According to Miller, responsive teaching "was accompanied by pupil comments . . . which were at higher levels of understanding." According to the table, there appears to be little difference between the two treatments in student comments at the two highest levels of understanding. Despite these discrepancies, Miller concluded that student understanding *during* the lesson was higher during the responsive instruction.

The results on the end-of-instruction test showed no significant differences and no discernible trend between the two groups on the test which focused on mastery of facts, or on the test of higher understanding. (!¹ should be noted that on a test of student attitudes toward the lessons, the responses were significantly more favorable for the lessons taught in a responsive manner.)

High School Social Studies. Millett (1969) conducted an experimental study designed to train teachers in "translation tactics." Translation behaviors, generally, were questions about the *meanings* of different words in the context in which they were used. The 39 first-year high school intern teachers were assigned to one of four training conditions, the most powerful condition being a combination of oral instruction by the investigator plus videotape demonstration of teacher translating behaviors, and the least powerful condition being no training in translation tactics. All teachers then taught the same special materials during a single class period, and administered the criterion test on the meaning of various terms in the material at the end of the class period. The test was developed by the investigator to measure the specific results of this instruction.

There were two types of results. First, the training procedures appeared to be successful because the trained teachers used significantly more translation tactics, and their students gave significantly more translating responses *during the period* than untrained teachers. Furthermore, the most powerful training treatment appeared to induce the strongest translating responses during the instructional period.

The second result was the lack of significant differences among the classrooms on the translation test administered following the instruction. There was no trend favoring any of the four groups.

Fifth Grade Social Studies. Rogers and Davis (1970) provided ten student teachers with ten hours of instruction on the use of varying cognitive levels of classroom questions. These teachers were taught to use questions in the seven categories of questions developed by Sanders (1966). The ten student teachers in the control group did not receive this special instruction. Following the training, all 20 student teachers taught a four-day unit on the West Indies to fifth grade classes. The daily lessons were 30-45 minutes in length. On the fifth day, all students took an achievement test constructed by the investigators, which contained items that university judges agreed represented all seven levels of questions.

Again, there were two types of results. First, the training appeared to be successful. The trained teachers asked significantly more questions requiring translation, interpretation, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Second, there were no significant differences between the two groups of teachers on their students' achievement test scores (although the scores for students taught by the untrained teachers were slightly higher).

One of the puzzling findings is that the students of the untrained teachers did significantly better on the test questions on the ability to analyze information. Yet, during the period of observation (30 minutes), not a single control teacher was recorded as asking a question requiring analysis, whereas eight of the trained teachers asked a mean of two analysis questions. It is possible, however, that the significant difference on the analysis questions was obtained by chance.

Seventh Grade Social Studies (Transportation). Hutchinson (1967) employed a design in which teacher training (and student training) took place *after* the first instructional unit was completed. In this study, four teachers first taught the same unit on transportation and communication for 15 one-hour periods to seventh grade students. Following this instructional unit, both the teachers and a second group of students received four days of in-service training designed to acquaint the teachers and students with group methods, brainstorming, and concepts such as ideational fluency, originality, and planning elaboration. The teachers then taught the same materials a second time to these students.

The teacher behavior and student behavior were different during these two instructional sessions. In the second instructional time, the students gave fewer responses labeled "routine" and "cognitive memory," and more responses labeled "productive thinking."

Both before and after the instructional period, all groups of students were given a standardized test in creative thinking and an achievement test on the subject matter. The experimental group had significant gains over the control group on four of the ten measures of creativity; the control group did not make superior gains on any of the creativity tests. On the achievement test, which was written by the investigator, the experimental group made greater gains, but the results were not quite significant at the .05 level.

The experiment is difficult to interpret. Certain aspects, such as allowing the teachers to teach first in their natural style and then providing the training, have a great deal of appeal. However, we don't know what

happens when teachers teach the same unit twice *without* training. The act of teaching a unit a second time may have beneficial results in itself. The use of standardized tests of creativity seems to have the same flaws which many attribute to the use of standardized tests of achievement; that is, the tests may not be related to what was taught in the classroom. Finally, in this experiment, it is difficult to gauge the effects of allowing the students to participate in the in-service training. This training, apparently, was given to the experimental students *after* they took the pre-test. Thus the effects of the in-service training and the effects of the instructional procedures are confounded.

Reading in Grades Two Through Six. Davidson (1967, 1968) conducted a study focused on critical reading skills. Twenty teachers were selected from twenty schools, four at each grade level from grade Two through grade Six. Two teachers in each grade were randomly placed into the control group; the other two were in the experimental group. In September, all twenty teachers made a tape recording of a class discussion based on material read by the children. Teachers in the experimental group were provided with printed information about the investigator's system of interaction analysis, and met with the investigator to discuss their tape recording; no meeting was provided for the control teachers. Both groups then made a second tape recording of another class discussion in December.

In the December analysis, the experimental group was using significantly more "critical thinking responses" and significantly fewer "non-productive responses" compared to the control group. Compared to the September recordings, seven of the ten experimental teachers showed significant changes in behavior in December; only one of the control teachers showed such a change.

Although the focus of Davidson's study was critical thinking, for an unknown reason he did not develop or administer any test in critical thinking. Rather, reading tests in the Stanford Achievement Test series were administered to all students. None of the differences between the groups was significant.

Reading in Grades One through Six. An experimental study in critical reading skills (Wolf 1967) appears to be similar to the studies of teacher questions in the social studies. Two experimental and two control teachers were selected from each grade level from One through Six. The experimental teachers were trained in a Critical Reading Workshop during a summer.

Twelve instructional units were developed, six for the experimental teachers and six different ones for the control teachers. These experimental lessons were taught during the academic year. All students completed achievement tests on general reading (California Achievement Tests) and on critical thinking in the fall and again in the spring. The critical thinking tests were developed by the research team.

There were differences between the experimental and control teachers in the types of questions they asked. Overall, control teachers asked significantly more questions classified as related to specific facts, interpreting, and applying; experimental teachers asked significantly more questions classified as clarifying, analyzing, and evaluating. If the "cognitive level" of such questions can be quantified, both groups asked both higher level and lower level questions, but the experimental teachers asked slightly higher level questions. Student responses followed the pattern set by their teacher.

At every grade level, the students in the experimental classes did better than the students in the control classes on the total critical thinking test. However, when the test was divided into its three sections--Logic, General, and Literature--the only consistent and significant differences between students in the two groups was on the Logic section. Instruction in logical analysis was one of the distinctive features of the special lessons prepared for the experimental group; three of their six instructional units were on ways of working with informational and persuasive materials. The units for the control group "used a wide variety of children's books to enrich the various areas of the curriculum." No significant differences were obtained on the California Achievement Tests in reading, although at each grade level the unadjusted score favored the experimental group.

This study is distinct from the others because one of the objectives was the development of cognitive skills, and the instruction focused upon development of this skill. The emphasis in this study, in contrast to the others, was upon using the special materials, rather than on using particular techniques. Under such conditions, it is interesting that different patterns of questions were used in the two situations. When this study is compared to those by Millet and by Rogers and Davis, we note that in this study there was no clear distinction between the two groups in use of high level versus low level cognitive questions. Rather, both groups used both high level and low level questions. The distinctions were in the *type* of question used. For example, the *control* teachers asked more questions requiring *interpretation* and application, whereas the experimental teachers asked significantly more questions requiring analysis and evaluation.

Summary of Six Experimental Studies on Cognitive Interactions

I have summarized six studies in which teachers were trained to modify the type of cognitive interactions which occurred in a classroom discussion, and results were obtained *both* on instructional behavior and on student cognitive achievement.

The most important conclusion is that six is a very small number of studies compared to the hundreds of workshops and teacher training programs designed to modify the cognitive instructional interactions of teachers. Hopefully, there are many studies which I missed, so I would appreciate learning about them. There are, of course, studies similar to these, but not similar enough to qualify as tests of teacher training. There are studies in which the natural behaviors of teachers have been correlated with measures of student achievement. But such naturalistic studies can only provide hypotheses for experimental studies of the type I have described. There are also studies in which the experimenter taught one class by some form of inquiry method and the other class was taught by another teacher, but again, such studies only provide hypotheses for teacher training studies. There is also the series of studies funded under Project Social Studies, but I have not seen any which include reports on classroom instructional behavior. The excellent report on the Taba Curriculum Project, for example, indicates that the experimental classes were indeed different from the control classes, but the report does not provide data on these differences. In the review of research in the most recent of these studies (Rogers and Davis 1970), no additional studies were cited. It is imperative that investigators conduct more studies on the effects of training teachers in the use of cognitive behaviors.

A second conclusion is that not all these studies are clear tests of the effects of training teachers to increase the cognitive level of classroom interactions. In the study by Millet, the 30-minute instructional period may have been too short; in the study by Miller, the teachers were unable to present an appropriate display of "responsive teaching;" in the study by Hutchinson, cognitive achievement was not a clear focus of the experiment; in the study by Davidson, critical thinking was taught to the teachers, but critical thinking by the students was not measured; in the study by Wolf, the teachers who taught critical thinking used different materials from the teachers in the control group; in the study by Rogers and Davis, students in classes in which no analysis questions were asked did better on analysis post-test questions than students who were asked such questions.

Although there are research design difficulties in all of these studies, the purpose of this paper is *not* to question the validity of the experiments. Rather, I applaud these investigators for conducting the studies. But with all the time and money being spent on teacher training, why are so few studies being conducted on the effects of such training upon students?

A third conclusion is that in all studies there was abundant evidence that the training procedures *did* modify the classroom behavior in the direction desired by the experimenter. Training of teachers, it appears, is not a difficult task. Further, whenever student classroom behavior was measured, it fit the desired model. If teacher training and student classroom behavior were both generally successful, it is disconcerting to learn that in five of the six studies there was no significant difference on the student achievement measure, particularly when, in all cases but one, the investigators themselves developed the achievement tests. In the four studies which dealt with social studies materials, all showed significant differences in the classroom behavior of the experimental and control groups; *none* showed significant differences on achievement tests which the investigators developed themselves.

The final and most puzzling conclusion is that I do not know how to interpret these studies. The results are out of joint, O cursed spite that ever man was born to set it right.

Teacher Affective Behavior

Four experimental studies were found in which the focus was on the type of affective interaction between the teacher and student, that is, the teacher's use of praise, student ideas, giving of directions, and criticism. Again, the only studies selected are those in which *teachers* were trained, and objective data were obtained on both affective behavior and student achievement.

History in Grade 7. In an experiment conducted in Norway, Rian (1969) compared the effects of indirect and direct teaching. Three student teachers each taught a 60-minute lesson two ways, in an indirect and direct manner. During 45 minutes of a discussion of the events leading up to the Nazi invasion of Norway and Denmark, under the indirect condition, there was much use of praise, student ideas, and broad, unstructured questions, and little use of lecture or directives. The opposite proportions occurred in the direct condition. In both conditions there was little use of criticism. During the last fifteen minutes, devoted to repetition and summary, direct teaching occurred under both conditions. Analysis of teacher behavior in both parts of the lesson and under the two conditions showed that these experimental conditions were satisfied. In addition, under the indirect condition, there was more student initiated talk and student directed talk.

At the end of the instruction, students were given tests on achievement and on satisfaction, which were developed by the investigator. There was no significant difference between the two groups on either test, nor was there a trend favoring either method. Furthermore, there was no evidence of differential effectiveness of teachers.

Geo-history in Grade 9. Gunnison (1968) studied the effects of training teachers in Flanders' (1965) Interaction Analysis. On the basis of initial observations, he selected 10 student teachers whose natural teaching style was predominately direct. The five teachers randomly assigned to the experimental group received six hours of instruction in IA; the control group received no instruction. All ten teachers were then observed as they taught a special unit on India to the 9th grade social studies classrooms to which they were assigned. The lessons extended for 10 class periods. Both the instructional material and the achievement tests were developed by the investigator.

There were significant differences in the classroom behavior of the two groups. The experimental teachers were recorded as using significantly more extended indirect influence and as being more supportive in responding to student comments; the students in these classrooms had significantly more student talk and expression of their own ideas. The experimental teachers had a mean i/d ratio of 4.3; the control teachers had a mean i/d ratio of 1.8. Because an i/d ratio of 1.00 or above is usually considered a sign of indirectness, the experiment is not a clear test of direct versus indirect teaching. It may be more accurate to describe the experimental group as a very indirect group, and the control group as an indirect (or not particularly direct) group of teachers. But there is no question that, as a result of training, the groups differed in their instructional style.

All students took a pre-test and a post-test on the material. There were no significant differences between the two groups on this test, nor was there evidence of a trend favoring either group. However, on items regarding student attitudes towards the instruction and the teacher, the students gave significantly higher ratings to the indirect teachers.

History in Grade 5 In an extremely well-designed study, Herman and others (1969) contrasted the effects of direct and indirect teaching. Eighteen 5th grade teachers were selected, all of whom had taught in their current school for at least two years. The teachers were matched according to the i/d ratios, and divided into two groups. Each group taught two six-week social studies units (one on early explorers, the other on colonization); one unit was taught in a teacher-centered manner, and the other unit in a student-centered manner. For this study, teacher-centered activities were those in which the teacher set the goals, there was little verbal participation by the group and much by the teacher, and the teacher made most of the decisions. Student-centered activities were those in which the group set its goals, verbal participation by the group was encouraged, group evaluation was promoted, and the teacher shared decision making with the group.

The matching of teachers, the assigning of teachers to teach two units, the reversal of teaching methods between the two units, and the use of OSCAR to code teacher adherence to method provided an excellent test of the hypothesis.

On the achievement tests developed by the investigators for this project, there was no significant difference between the two groups for either unit. The mean scores favored teacher-centered instruction in one unit, and student-centered instruction in the other.

Mathematics in Grades 1 Through 5. Carline (1969, 1970) attempted to modify fourteen teacher behaviors which could be categorized using the Flanders' Interaction Analysis System. The in-service program was fourteen hours long. Twenty-three teachers of grades one through five, who were all in the same school, were the experimental teachers. Twenty comparable teachers in a comparable school in the same school district were the control teachers.

The in-service program was successful in modifying five of the fourteen selected behaviors. On none of these behaviors was there a significant difference between the two groups before the in-service program began; there were significant differences on five behaviors at the end of the school year. Most of the attempts to increase affective responses were successful; none of the attempts to decrease negative teacher responses was successful.

The appropriate Stanford Achievement Test in arithmetic was administered to the students of all teachers in the experimental and control groups at the beginning and the end of the school year. No significant difference nor any apparent trend was found at either point in time.

To the extent that it is possible to compare the teachers in this sample with those in other samples, the teachers in both schools appear to be more direct than usual. Both groups began with low i/d ratios: .63 for the experimental and .52 for the control group. At the end of the year the experimental teachers had a mean i/d ratio of 1.08, a ratio which is not a strong indicator of indirectness. Thus, the training did not appear to be effective enough to show a comparison between an indirect and a direct group of teachers. Rather, both groups of teachers tended to be direct as measured by the IA system.

Summary of Four Studies on Affective Interactions

Again, it should be noted that only four studies are included in the above review, and four studies are too few to permit any generalization. Yet, the four studies do cover a rather wide range of circumstances: they

were conducted in different countries, with experienced and inexperienced teachers, using regular and special units, and regular and special tests. [One might wish to add the study by Miller (1966) as a fifth study because affective interactions were also a part of that study.]

The results of these four studies are most consistent. In all cases the teachers differed in their behavior and provided behaviors which were close to the instructional model. In all four cases (or five) there was no difference on the achievement measures, and no trend in either direction.

Perhaps affective interactions are not as important in enhancing achievement as has been claimed. Perhaps the significant results which have been obtained in correlational studies are masking more important behaviors, which were not part of the training program.

Student Participation

Student participation was explicitly manipulated in two studies described below. The origins of a preference for student participation among educators is difficult to determine, but the existence of such a preference can be derived from the descriptive studies of teaching in which the investigators make negative comments on the high percentage of time spent in teach talk.

Science in Grade 7. Hughes (1969) wanted to determine whether the pattern of asking questions had any effect upon achievement. He prepared a set of three forty-minute lessons on a science topic and learned them word-perfect. The questions had been tried out so that the student responses were predictable.

Three experimental treatments were used: (a) in the random treatment, questions were addressed to all students in a randomly determined sequence; (b) in the systematic treatment, questions were asked in a systematic fashion, beginning with the students in one corner and progressing through all students in regular order until the opposite corner of the class was reached; (c) in the self-selection treatment, only students raising their hands were asked to respond.

Class mean post-test scores on a 180-item test were adjusted for initial knowledge and aptitude. The differences among the three treatments were not statistically significant at the .05 level.

This experiment was developed to validate the finds obtained in an earlier correlational study. In that study (Wright and Nuthall 1970) there was a correlation of .54 between student achievement and the number of times the teacher redirected a question to another student. Hughes reasoned that in the study by Wright and Nuthall, teacher redirection was serving to arouse and maintain the attention of the students; therefore he devised this experiment in which three forms of using questions to arouse the attention of students were exhibited. None of the forms was found to be superior to the other, even though one would expect that in the systematic treatment students would quickly learn the game and stop paying attention.

Science in Grade 5. Church (1970) also prepared a highly structured set of three lessons on elementary electricity which were scripted and memorized by the experimenter. Three treatments were used, each in three classes in which participation was varied: (a) in the standard presentation, consisting of three 50-minute lessons, questions were distributed at random around the class with the students of average ability being asked 12 to 14 questions; (b) in the low participation treatment all conditions were the same as the standard presentation, except that students with high ability were also asked questions so that the average students were randomly selected to answer no more than six questions across the three lessons; (c) in the high participation treatment, all students were asked to *write* their answers to most of the questions.

Following the three lessons and a week-end delay, the 60-item post-test was given. Post-test scores were adjusted for pre-test scores. Class mean scores within each treatment and across the three treatments were almost identical. Thus, the participation pattern in highly structured lessons appeared to have no differential effect.

Summary on Student Participation

The assumed importance of student participation pervades teaching mythology. Descriptive studies of classroom instruction frequently include criticism of the lack of time devoted to student participation. Unfortunately, these assumptions have seldom been tested in either correlational or experimental classroom studies. To date, neither correlational studies (see Rosenshine 1970) nor experimental studies have provided much support for assumptions of the value of student participation. Yet, the myth remains. The success of Sesame Street must be a paradox to those who believe that student participation is all important.

Teacher Enthusiasm

Although the experimental studies presented above have produced discouraging results, one set of studies does provide hope, even though they are flawed in design. Three experimental studies were found in which the enthusiasm of the teacher was varied.

Social Studies in Grade 6 and 7. Mastin (1963) provided no teacher training whatsoever. Instead, he asked 20 teachers to teach two lessons lasting less than one class period, one on ancient Egypt, and one on ancient Rome. The teacher was asked to present one lesson in such a manner as to convey the impression that he was indifferent about the ideas, illustrative materials, and content of the lesson, and to present the other lesson in an enthusiastic manner. Following each lesson, the students took a 102 question, multiple choice test. All four possible orders for presentation of the two lessons were used.

The class mean for the lesson taught with apparent enthusiasm, whether that lesson was presented first or second, whether the topic was Rome or Egypt, was higher for 19 of the 20 classes; the results were statistically significant in 15 classes.

Education in Undergraduate Psychology. Mayberry (1969) became interested in Mastin's study, but worried that it might have been contaminated by the teachers covering more of the relevant material in the enthusiastic condition. Therefore, he prepared a lecture on Interaction Analysis which was read by his experimenter, with enthusiasm in one case, with indifference in the other. The results obtained in 16 college undergraduate classrooms again significantly favored the lessons presented with enthusiasm.

Education in College. Coats and Smidchens (1966) performed an experiment similar to Mayberry's except that the investigators presented the lectures, and no teachers were trained. Each investigator presented identical lectures on Interaction Analysis. The dynamic presentation was delivered from memory, accompanied by vocal inflection, animation, and eye contact; the static presentation was read from a manuscript, with no gestures or eye contact and a minimum of vocal inflection. The results were significantly superior in the dynamic condition.

Summary on Enthusiasm

Although these three experimental studies appear encouraging, they are flawed and incomplete. In all three studies, one condition may be grossly unrepresentative of typical instruction. Teachers may not typically have enthusiasm while they teach, but it is doubtful if many show indifference, read only from a manuscript, or read in a monotone. Such conditions appear particularly inapplicable to public school instruction. Hopefully, in future studies the investigators can provide one condition in which the instruction is presented in a normal manner. Then we can compare the effects of enthusiastic or indifferent teaching with normal instruction.

Process and Product

In many of our activities in teacher training, we have assumed that certain processes will yield certain products. These processes have included the asking of questions at a higher cognitive level, encouragement of student decision making, providing greater affect in the classroom, and increasing student participation. The products are student achievement in the classroom. Unfortunately, the belief that increased use of these processes will lead to improved product measures has not, as yet, been supported by the research; training teachers to use these processes has *not* resulted in measurable improvement in student achievement.

These non-significant results lead to a number of tentative conclusions. Perhaps we have focused on the wrong processes. Perhaps the sorts of behavior we value when we observe a classroom are not the most important processes. Perhaps we should begin to look in a systematic, objective, empirical manner for the more relevant processes which are critical. It is possible, of course, that these studies are incorrect; we might also entertain the possibility that some of our assumptions are wrong. But any discussion of our assumptions does not seem productive as long as we lack empirical research, and the major conclusion of this review is that of the hundreds of research studies completed every year, an insignificant number have been experimental studies of the type described above. As long as we lack such research we shall be bound to myths and superstitions which are interesting subject matter for our methods courses, but which have little relevance for the real world.

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